The Catholic Historical Review

Volume XXVI JANUARY, 1941 No. 4

MEDIAEVALISM IN THE MODERN WORLD *

After the vitriolic and ignorant criticism of the Middle Ages by the writers and historians of the early and middle eighteenth century, after the vogue of rationalism and classicism had passed away, it is not to be wondered at that there should come towards the end of the century the inevitable reaction. The pseudo-mediaeval ballads of Thomas Chatterton, Scott's poems and historical novels, and Schiller's *William Tell*, to mention only a few of the better known writings of the French Revolutionary era, presented a new outlook on the Middle Ages. The perspective, however, was wrong. It was inspired by Romanticism, and had no deeper foundation than an enthusiastic emotionalism. The Middle Ages represented for these men a canvas on which they might depict in glowing colours their ideas on nature and beauty. They were not interested in preserving mediaeval institutions, nor did they, for the most part, go very deeply into mediaeval philosophy. They were moderns with an antiquarian interest in the curious and old-fashioned.

The theism of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries that had been substituted for dogmatic belief likewise produced a reaction. The formation of the "Association of Friends of the Church" in 1833 came very significantly in the wake of the Reform Act of 1832. It had as its object the publication of *Tracts for the Times* which, it was hoped, would lead the clergy away from the liberalism into which they were sinking, would revive the notion

* Presidential Address, Twenty-first Annual Meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association, December 27, 1940, New York City.

of the divine character of the church, and would stress to this end the doctrine of the apostolic succession. The Association appealed to history, and to the Middle Ages in particular, in an effort to revitalize the church by preaching, by the practice of liturgical rites, and by writing. They were intellectuals interested in reviving the spirituality and religious doctrines of the Middle Ages. While the Oxford Movement did succeed in arousing a more healthy curiosity about the teachings and ideas of the Mediaeval Church, it too was not prepared to accept the whole pattern of mediaevalism, and it failed in its mission to convert Anglicanism to its tenets.

When later still Carlyle wrote his *Past and Present* he looked at the England of his day and came to the conclusion that mediaevalism was dead. His book was an appeal to the people of his generation to look into the " Past " for what seemed to him to be good, and to apply their findings to the social and economic problems of the " Present ". What he found at St. Edmundsbury was the principle of leadership in the person of Abbot Samson; what he taught was the nineteenth century German romantic idealism that society must submit to dictatorship in its political and economic life; the superman alone should decide what is best for mankind. Much of his other writing reflects the same idea. With him it was a conviction derived from philosophic speculation, that each individual could contribute something to the more abundant life, but his contribution, should be assessed by the wise leader, the hero, who alone by the force of his own personality had struggled to reach the heights, and having reached them should in his wisdom know the niche into which each man best fits. This was a rather remarkable doctrine in a nineteenth century England where the trend of the times was consistently democratic, but it should be remembered that it was still the fashion to teach children a catechism that engendered and disseminated the idea that every one should " order himself lowly and reverently to all his betters " and do his "duty in that state of life into which it should please God to call him." But Carlyle too fell short of a full and proper appreciation of mediaeval times.

Thus before the opening of the present century there was a wider understanding of the Middle Ages than there had been when Hume

could talk of pre-Norman England as a time of battles between kites and crows, and Voltaire could speak of the corresponding period on the continent as one of wolves and bears. There was no true understanding, however. Romanticists, Oxford reformers, and philosopher-historians alike were all reacting against something they disliked, and choosing from the historic past whatever they felt would best serve their purpose. Though all of them aroused interest they really failed to shake the liberalism of the time, and the twentieth century opened with a hope, even an expectation, that the millenium was about to dawn. It is significant that the *Fabian Essays,* which has been called the most important socialist document since the publication of Karl Marx's *Das Kapital,* appeared in 1889, and that the vogue of Shaw and Webb was greatest in the years prior to 1914.

The period of the first World War and the years preceding the second World War ushered in a wave of disillusionment. Men questioned the value of individualism in an age of mass production and were more readily enlisted in mass movements for the establishment of a socialist, communist, corporate, or nationalist state. Everywhere they looked they saw the rise of new totalitarian states, the abolition of parliaments, the ascendancy of dictatorship. They heard the boasts of the new leaders that in their countries there was no unemployment, there were no slums. They questioned democracy, and they questioned liberalism.

Now it cannot be argued that all the disillusioned looked back to the Middle Ages for their solutions; it can be contended, however, that in looking to the modern dictatorships as their means of salvation they were abandoning what had survived from mediaeval times, and what liberal democracy had helped to preserve.

First, though the dictatorships through party control of the machinery for manufacturing and guiding public opinion pay lip service to democracy by proclaiming through pseudo-plebiscites that they represent the will of the people, no one is really deceived, and it is generally admitted that the new Caesarism is in no way democratic, though apologists for it frequently contend that it is mediaeval. In practice of course the Middle Ages had their dictators too, who defended their system on the theory of alienation of

power by the people. Thus the emperors in the days of the investiture controversy developed the doctrine of the Contract of Subjection, citing the agreement between David and the Israelites at Hebron as the historical evidence for the origin of this type of government.

But even the advocates of this theory occasionally recognised a right of the people against their ruler. Manegold of Lautenbach, propagating the doctrine of the original contract, but no imperialist, held that the king who became a tyrant could be deposed as an unfaithful shepherd, and later John of Salisbury condemned the tyrant who oppressed his people by violence. The opinion of St. Thomas Aquinas is too well known to need repetition. From these men, as others have already pointed out, springs the idea that the authority of the state comes mediately from God through the people and that the authority of the state is thereby limited.

But the mediaeval writers held a corollary view that has survived to our own time. Monarchy, they held, was an office, the king being the temporary wielder of a dignity that had duties as well as rights. So Baldus Ubaldus (1327-1400) observes that "the prince represents the people, and the people represents the empire when the prince is dead." This maxim might be applied in the case of every ruler whether hereditary or elected. In the case of representative assemblies it should be observed, as Gierke says, "that the powers ascribed to the Community of the people were not the private rights of a sum of individuals but the public right of a constitutionally compounded Assembly."[1] As such an assembly they were entrusted with the welfare of the people. To put it in the language of the modern age "a public office is a public trust."

Now the disillusioned in turning to dictatorship seem to me to depart from mediaeval political ideas in these respects:

(1) They submit themselves, and subject the majority of their fellow citizens, to a leader who admits no divine sanction for his rule or who, at best, pays lip service to God and to organized religion.
(2) They condone, at least in the beginning, tyranny and violence by a minority against the majority.
(3) They condone the abolition of those assemblies that express the will of the people.

[1] O. Gierke, *Political Theories of the Middle Age*, 63.

One of the disillusioned who enjoyed a certain vogue a few years ago was the distinguished Spaniard, Señor Ortega y Gasset. The state, he says in his *Revolt of the Masses*, "had been built in the Middle Ages by a class of men very different from the bourgeois—the nobles, a class admirable for their gifts of leadership, their sense of responsibility. Without them the nations of Europe would not now be in existence." He contrasts this virile leadership with the government of the modern state by the mass-man " whose life lacks any purpose . . . (whose) possibilities are enormous . . . (and who) constructs nothing . . ., (who is) ill-fitted to direct . . . (and is) characterised by root-ignorance of the very principles of civilisation." He concludes that the masses neither can nor should direct their own affairs, and that since they have been entrusted with self-government Europe suffers from the greatest crisis that can affect civilization. Now this is full of errors, lacking in perspective, and devoid of historical sense. When we study the rise of the Capetian and Angevin monarchies, for instance, the history of the kings who laid the foundations for the states of France and England, we can only intelligently interpret what those kings were trying to do by picturing to ourselves a constant struggle between the forces of centralisation and good government on the one hand, and the centrifugal and anarchical forces of the feudal aristocracy on the other. Again it is untrue that the life of the mass-man " lacks any purpose . . . and constructs nothing." The achievements of the modern democratic state may be limited, but they do include a more equable system of justice, a better social scheme, a higher standard of living than would have been possible under a continuance of the régime that the French historian Boissonnade has characterised as " turbulent, brutal, arbitrary, extortionate and unjust." [2]

Another of the disillusioned, Nicholas Berdyaeff, was of the opinion that "Parliaments must definitely be got rid of, they are parasitical growths in the body politic, incapable of fulfilling any organic function . . . democracy simply will not see that there is also a radical evil in human nature, and does not allow for the fact that the will of the people can follow iniquity, that the majority

[2] P. Boissonnade, *Life and Work in Medieval Europe*, 151.

may be for error and untruth, leaving truth and rightness to a weak minority." Here again there is a lack of historical perspective. Parliaments came into existence not as parasitical growths, but as a result of a request for cooperation on the part of kings. Mediaeval theorists held that the community was entitled collectively to exercise supreme power in a properly constituted assembly.[3]

To urge the establishment of leaders and heroes as rulers of the state, as Berdyaeff does, seems to be a confession of failure—failure to teach democracy to be virtuous so that the majority will not leave truth and rightness to a weak minority. It is well to remind ourselves at this juncture that whereas for a successful democracy a majority of the people must be virtuous, and for a successful aristocracy a minority must be virtuous, for a dictatorship only one need be virtuous, and while that one may be threatened or cajoled into leading a good life and putting forth his best endeavours on behalf of the state, it is a far greater triumph for the forces of Christianity to be able to boast that they have accomplished the same end, though by different methods, with a whole people. For after all God has endowed His creatures with free will and it is no credit to Christian civilisation to have to admit that it has been unable to influence that free will for good. Furthermore, it is wrong to say that democracy does not allow for the fact that the majority can be in error. It is of the very essence of democracy that it does admit this, and that it safeguards the rights of minorities precisely because of this admission.

The objective criticism of law under the democracies seems to be confined rather to the administration of law than to its nature. Thus M. Gascoin says:

> Even assuming the majority of our judges to be disinterested enough to forego the satisfaction of the most legitimate ambitions, the highest judicial positions . . . are all the more generally entrusted to those who have succeeded in ingratiating themselves with the legislature.[4]

This is a criticism that might be made of judges in any age, and changing the system of government will not eradicate an evil that is as old as the state itself. Other criticisms of a practical

[3] Gierke, *op. cit.*, 63-4.

[4] M. Gascoin, *Réforme de l'état*, 37.

nature are concerned with court delays, weaknesses of the jury system, corruption and intimidation, and other failures of a similar nature. Totalitarianism, instead of reforming these abuses, has tried to overthrow the whole mediaeval concept of law. The relationship of the state to the law under these new régimes is very simply the total subjection of justice, liberty and mercy to the interests of the state. " Right ", says one of them, " is what is in the interests of our people, wrong is what harms it ". Another addressing a convention of jurists in 1936 expressed this somewhat more fully when he warned his audience that

> There is no independence of law as against National Socialism . . . Say to yourselves at every decision which you make: How would the leader decide this if he were in my place? [5]

This, as Luigi Sturzo says, " leads to a perversion of Christian civilization, for it does away with the morality that is the foundation of relationships of justice, private and public, domestic and international ".[6] It sets up the state as the source of ethics and makes it the end of the nation and the race. Now of course it is something of an anomaly to talk of the state and justice, or the state and law in the Middle Ages, since the concept of the state was lacking. Expressions such as empire, kingdom, temporal power, and the prince are the nearest we can get to an equivalent for our modern word " state ". But the mediaeval ideas on the relationships between these equivalents of the state and the law are not hard to find, and the concept of what these relationships ought to be democracy has up to the present recognised. It is a concept that alone satisfies the Christian conscience, that is, that the highest temporal authority is confined by legal limitations. The origin of these limitations is to be found of course in the natural law, a law older than the state, and which, as Gierke says,

> stood above the Pope and above the Kaiser, above the Ruler and above the Sovereign People, nay, above the whole community of Mortals. Neither statute nor act of government, neither resolution of the People nor custom could break the bounds that were thus set.

[5] *Völkischer Beobachter,* May 20th, 1936.

[6] L. Sturzo, *Politics and Morality,* 35.

> Whatever contradicted the eternal and immutable principles of Natural Law was utterly void and would bind no one.[7]

The natural law then supersedes or is above the law of the state and is also the basis of what we call international law. This is the ideal. In practice mediaeval writers sometimes compromised, and the totalitarian doctrines of our own age found expression in the phrase *Quod principi placet legis habet vigorem*, or, as Richard II of England put it, " The laws are in my mouth and in my breast ". This is sometimes explained away by the assertion that such principles applied only to positive law and not to natural law, that the prince had a superiority over men and their goods, and could determine the fate of the few for the good of the whole community. But it is obvious that in some cases the phrase was used to cover abuses of power by those who proclaimed such doctrines, and it is noteworthy that this view of the relationship of the prince to positive law came only with the widespread acceptance of the revived study of Roman law. The proof of this lies surely in the different characters of the reigns of Louis IX and Philip IV; the spirit of Nogaret and Dubois was totally unlike anything that had gone before and it has its modern counterpart in the idolization of state leaders. A. J. Penty's indictment of those who saddled Roman law on mediaeval society is a sufficient warning to those who live under a democratic régime to examine carefully the new system that some would impose upon them:

> Roman Law succeeded because it gave support to the individual who pursued his own private interests without regard to the commonweal, without concern even whether others were thereby ruined. Hence it was that the introduction of the Roman code created unspeakable confusion in every grade of society. Exactly in proportion as it grew and prevailed, freedom and liberty went to the wall. The lawyers invested avaricious and ambitious princes and landlords with legal authority not only to deprive the peasants of their communal rights, but to evict them from their life-lease possessions and to increase their taxes. Such immoral proceedings destroyed the feeling of brotherhood in communities and encouraged enormously the spirit of avarice. The vocation of law degenerated everywhere into a vulgar money-making trade. On every side it sowed the seeds of discord,

[7] O. Gierke, *op. cit.*, 75.

and the people lost their confidence in the sanctity and impartiality of the law.[8]

International law, as it has been known in our time, though it has its origins in the remote past, is really the creation of Vittorio, Gentili, Suarez and Grotius. Though in the Middle Ages it may be that, as Gilson says, "the Holy Roman Empire always remained a more or less abstract myth; a dream that never came true except, perhaps, much later, in the books of its historians,"[9] and that therefore we can find some concept of a law governing the relations between states only in that part of the Middle Ages when men were looking towards national states as the hope of the future, there were at all times authorities such as pope and emperor to whom kings and cities could look for a vindication of that law that regulated the relations between them. The law is there: it was there in the Middle Ages, though men did not and do not always recognise it. The agencies of the post-war years for the application of international law were the League of Nations and the Permanent Court of International Justice. That these agencies failed to function successfully in every case with which they had to deal is beside the point. The principle of respect for the rights of others was embodied in the constitution of the League; it stood for international morality despite its failure to act when, in the opinion of many, it ought to have acted. It should have commanded the support of all Christians, of all who admit that there is a thing called international law and who believe that it is based on natural law. It did not get that support for a variety of reasons into which we need not go here. The important thing is that a policy of force in international relations is a direct negation, not a mere abandonment, of the principles of international law. It is unavoidable that a penalty must be paid when men stray from the path of justice whether it be in their relations one with another as individuals or in their relations to one another as nations and states.

It is however not in the realms of law and politics but in the field of economics that criticism of all kinds of democratic govern-

[8] A. J. Penty, *Guildsman's Interpretation of History*, 69-70.

[9] E. Gilson, *Medieval Universalism*, 11.

ment has expressed itself most forcibly. Economic grievances, real or fancied, are the easiest to exploit. In the Middle Ages the frequent outbursts of anti-semitism, the sermons of John Ball, the strikes and armed risings of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in France, Spain, England, Germany, the Netherlands, and Italy all testify to a general dissatisfaction with the distribution of the goods of this world and, at least in the case of John Ball, there was a definite demand for a new order. The period following the World War similarly produced its communist experiments in various parts of Europe, accompanied by a flood of literature recommending reform by the adoption of a more or less socialist state, social credit schemes, guild socialism and a host of other plans ranging in some instances into the realms of the fantastic and ridiculous. Some thought that democracy failed to give a sufficient degree of social and economic equality, some were of the opinion that it was a forcing bed for the seeds of class warfare; some wanted economic control by smaller units, some preferred a greater measure of state control. What impresses most easily in the communist, fascist and nazi experiments is their dynamism. But dynamism can be put to evil uses as well as good ones. It was the tag " corporate state " that appealed to many who saw in the dynamism of the new type of state the beginnings of a return to mediaevalism. They envisaged the state as a sum of corporations with harmonious relations between employer and employee, each corporation having full freedom to direct its own affairs in the manner of the mediaeval guilds, and each one choosing representatives to a central body that would form a legislature for the assistance of the executive branch of government or even for exercising a modicum of control over it. This system, they thought, would free society from control by public utilities and banking houses and from the disorders accompanying the labour movement, and yet would preserve the sanctity of private property and prevent the development of the socialist or communist state. They overlooked the fact that this new type of state stresses economics at the expense of religious, cultural and moral values and that the system of elections, as practiced in Portugal for instance, is one whereby the head of the state first rejects those candidates for election whose

views he does not like. They also seem to be unaware of the fact that the mediaeval city with its corporations of arts and crafts was at best oligarchic and eventually fell into the hands of tyrants. The question naturally arises then: could it not be that in a wise conservatism with regard to the present-day economic system they would be more nearly in accord with the economic teachings of the Middle Ages? Have they not the duty to consider the accumulated wisdom of the ages before jettisoning a system without making a genuine effort to reform it? Could not these reforms be made in a mediaeval spirit? Expressing hostility to trade unionism, to sit-down strikes, to the principle of collective bargaining, is folly since it is obvious that none of these things would exist were there not injustices to be removed. The modern Solon who would remove these injustices is one who makes things easier for the debtor and re-establishes the property-owning freeholder, though it is well to remember that the Athenian in Plato's *Laws* places this part of his legislative program in the lowest rung of the second degree. Justice then, a virtue which mediaeval man stressed above all others, should be the basis of economic and social reform. Democracy in this century has gone far on the road to the realization of a greater degree of justice with its program of minimum standards for housing, food, medical requirements and, to some extent, education; it has gone far in establishing social security with measures to provide against insecurity due to old age, unemployment, and losses through accidents. By the control of large corporations, cartels, and trusts it has helped to direct economic enterprise into channels where it will serve the whole people rather than the few.

As Gilson has pointed out in his *Medieval Universalism* we ought not to look back to the Middle Ages as to a golden age that has passed but we ought rather to make the best of the twentieth century. We ought not to condemn the grouping of peoples into national states by idealizing the myth of the unity of the Holy Roman Empire; we ought to recognise with Alcuin that " religious unity could not live, and still less quicken political bodies from within, unless it found in them, already established by literary and

scientific culture, some sort of natural unity.''[10] We ought rather to maintain and defend the universal character of rational truth and this we must do against the totalitarian doctrine that there is a national science and culture distinct from, and superior to, the universal science and culture. Christian standards must be applied to the relations of state and state and man and man. As the present Pope expressed it in November 1939, '' Before all else it is certain that the radical and ultimate cause of the evils which we deplore in modern society is the denial and rejection of a universal norm of morality as well for individuals and social life as for international relations,'' and he went on to condemn the elevation of the '' state or group into the last end of life, the supreme criterion of the moral and juridical order.'' He approved the words of Leo XIII to the effect that it was the Creator's will that '' civil sovereignty should regulate social life after the dictates of an order changeless in its universal principles; should facilitate in the temporal order, by individuals, of physical, intellectual, and moral perfection and should aid them to reach their supernatural end.''

Though there are those who, with Bulwer-Lytton, would have us refrain from surrendering to democracy that which is not yet ripe for the grave, it seems to me that the Pope is calling us back to the best that is in democracy and to the ideals of the Middle Ages by his denial of the unlimited sovereignty of the state, and by his reminder that the state should regulate for the welfare of the individual and be mindful of the welfare of its neighbours. He is calling us back to a respect for absolute values. This is a rejection of totalitarian ideals, and it behooves us to take a second look at the achievements of democracy, and their conformity to those absolute and universal values that characterised the Middle Ages, before dropping the substance of the bone we have for the reflection that we think we see in the deep waters of totalitarianism.

HERBERT H. COULSON.

[10] E. Gilson, *op. cit.*, 12-13.

JESUIT WRITERS OF HISTORY *

In this four hundredth year of the Society of Jesus, an organization so devoted to educational and scholarly activities, it would seem appropriate before a body of historians to review the accomplishments of the Jesuit historiographers. Within the limits of this paper naturally only a brief summarization can be attempted.[1]

The Jesuit historical contribution may be classified in the following manner: (1) text-books and compendiums for class use in Greek, Roman and Universal history; (2) local histories of individual states and countries; (3) histories of the Church, both universal and local; (4) editions and studies of the Church Councils, both universal and particular; (5) hagiography, especially the critical examination of the biographies of the saints; (6) the history of the Society of Jesus itself, as well as biographical studies of its distinguished members; (7) the reports of the Society's foreign missionaries and the history of its missions.

An estimate of the number of Jesuit historians who have produced worthwhile contributions would be difficult to make. Heimbucher cites the names of two hundred and forty-seven, a listing which is far from complete. The value of these individual writers varies considerably with the times and particular problems. A general progress, however, is noticeable. The Jesuit historians of

* Paper read at the Twenty-First Annual Meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association, December 27, 1940, New York City.

[1] *Cf.* Sommervogel, S.J., *Bibliothèque de la compagnie de Jésus,* (Paris 1890-1909); Rivière, S.J., Supplément au de Backer-Sommervogel, (Paris 1911-1930); Carayon, S.J., *Bibliographie historique de la compagnie de Jésus,* (Paris 1864); Heimbucher, *Orden und Kongregationen der katholischen Kirche,* (Paderborn 1934), Vol. II, 250-257; Koch, S.J., "*Geschichtschreibung und Geschichtsforschung*", *Jesuiten-Lexikon,* (Paderborn 1934);, 684-687; Stöger, S.J., *Historiographia Societatis Jesu ab eius origine usque ad nostra tempora,* (Regensburg 1851); Duhr, S.J., *Die alten deutschen Jesuiten als Historiker* in the *Innsbr. Zeitsch.*, XIII, 57 ff. All the works of the various Jesuit historians up to the twentieth century, together with the various editions of their works, will be found in Sommervogel and Rivière.

the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, in methods of research, in viewpoints, and in style, manifest the virtues and the faults of the other historians of their day. This may be said for the writers of the Society that they were thoroughly grounded in scholastic logic, a training which made them well acquainted with the rigid rules of evidence. The nineteenth and twentieth century Jesuit historians have kept abreast of the advances in historical criticism and method, so that it may be asserted that in the last seventy years the best historical investigation and writing by Jesuits has been done. The *Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu,* (Madrid, 1894–), the histories of the various assistancies, and the work of the more recent Bollandists testify to the fact. General progress too is noticeable in the number of Jesuits devoting themselves to historical studies. In the sixteenth century there were but a few Jesuit historians; the number increased in the seventeenth century, and continued to multiply in the eighteenth century, until the suppression of the order in 1773 put an end to all Jesuit activity. In the decades following the restoration of the Society (1814), because of the necessity of having to begin all things over again, Jesuit historians were few; but from the middle of the nineteenth century the numbers increased in such proportions that in recent times a considerable group of Jesuit scholars labor in the historical field. This growth parallels a similar growth of historical interests in the learned world. In the earlier days the attention of religious scholars was largely absorbed in theology, in dogmatic and moral controversy, or in literature; only in the last century has there developed an intense interest in historical investigation and critical historical writing.

Probably the first motive, at least in time, which induced Jesuits to take up historical work, was the apologetical one. It was to be expected that as leaders in the Catholic Revival they would challenge the Protestant scholars in the domain of History, which had become one of the most familiar scenes of the Reformers' attacks. Thus St. Peter Canisius composed two works in partial answer to the Centuriators of Magdeburg. Two Jesuit contemporaries, Jacob Gretser and St. Robert Bellarmine, entered the lists of historical

controversy with greater force. Their example was followed by many more of their brethren.

Education also offered a stimulus for early Jesuit historical writings. While it is true that in the *Ratio Studiorum* and in its early application, little attention was given to history as such, yet the reading of the Greek and Latin historians was provided for and historical knowledge, as background for the better appreciation of the classical poets and orators, was insisted on. In meeting the needs of their developing system of education, Jesuit humanists began to bring out new editions, explanations and translations of the Greek and Latin historians. Such work, of course, cannot be classed strictly as historical writing; but it did foster interest in history. Towards the end of the sixteenth century, for the assistance of their teachers of the classics, Jesuits began to compose handbooks of ancient history. As more attention began to be given to the teaching of history, other Jesuits brought out compendiums and manuals not only of classical, but of universal, secular and ecclesiastical history. One of the very first of such writers was Torsellini with his *Historiarum ab origine mundi epitome,* which appeared at Rome in 1598. Among others of the historians of the old Society [2] to produce similar works were: in Italy, Bardoni and Zaccaria; in France, Buffier, Rouvilliers and Marchant; in Spain, Burriel; in Germany, Andrian, Dufrène, Khell, Wurz and Schwarz. Far more extensive works in ancient and universal history were also produced by the older Jesuits, as for example Catrou's and Rouillé's *Histoire Romaine,* (Paris 1725-1737), in twenty-one volumes; Daude's *Historia Universalis et Pragmatica Romani Imperii,* (Würzburg 1748-1754); and de Feller's *Dictionnaire historique,* (Augsburg 1781-1784), a six-volume work which has been frequently reedited and republished. In modern times text-books for general history have been published by Cornova, Richardot, Loriquet, Centurione in Europe, and in the United States by Guggenberger, Betten and Kaufman.

A very fruitful source of much of the early Jesuit historical writings was the desire on the part of Catholic princes, secular

[2] The terms "Old" and "New" Society are in use among Jesuits to designate the Order before its suppression in 1773 and after its restoration in 1814.

and ecclesiastical, to have the histories of their principalities written and their historical claims established. A numerous collection of local histories resulted. Among the best known of such works are: Andreas Brunner's *Annales virtutis et fortunae Boiorum,* which appeared at Munich from 1626-1637; Nicholaus Schaten's *Historiae Westphaliae,* (Neuhaus 1690), and his *Annales Paderbornenses,* (1693-1698); Juan de Mariana's twenty-volume *Historiae de rebus Hispaniae libri XX,* (Toledo 1592); Gabriel Daniel's *Histoire de France,* (Paris 1713), which originally appeared in three folio volumes but which has been frequently brought out in smaller format, in seven, ten, seventeen and twenty-four volumes; Naruszewicz's *Historya narodu polskiego od poczatku Chrześciańśtwa* in six volumes, (Warsaw 1781-1785); and Pray's *Annales veteres Hunnorum, Avarorum et Hungarorum,* (Vienna 1761), as well as his *Annales Regum Hungariae,* (Vienna 1764-1770). There was not a Catholic country, nor a Catholic people, nor scarcely a Catholic princely family, the history of which was not written down by Jesuit historians of the old Society.

These local and dynastic histories labor from the defects naturally to be expected in works written before the great modern development of historical criticism and methodology. Still on the whole they reveal a sincere striving after the best sources, an appreciation of causal connections, and they contain frequent references both to cultural aspects and to social conditions. In the new Society of Jesus, much less attention has been given to the production of local political history, although the labors of Giuseppe Brunengo on the Papal States, Denis Murphy on Ireland, Joseph Stevenson on England and Scotland, and Wilhelm Plenkers on Denmark, are important. Medieval history has attracted the attention of several modern Jesuit historians. Foremost among the medievalists of the order is the late Cardinal Ehrle, prefect of the Vatican Library, author of many scholarly treatises on the literary history of the Middle Ages, and co-author with Heinrich Denifle, O.P., of the monumental *Archiv für Literatur- und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters,* (Berlin 1880-1900). Two other important writers are: Emil Michael with his great five-volume *Geschichte des deutschen Volkes vom dreizehnten Jahrhundert bis zum Aus-*

gang des Mittelalters, (Freiburg 1897-1911), and Joseph Fischer with his *Die Entdeckungen der Normannen in Amerika,* (1902), which has been translated into English, and his as yet untranslated work on medieval geography.

From their very profession as priests and religious it was but to be expected that the greatest historical endeavor of the Jesuits would be in the field of ecclesiastical history. It has already been noted how controversy brought members of the Society into historical work. Widening interest nurtured a zeal in the study of church history for itself. Among the early composers of universal church histories may be listed Skarga, Rosweyde and de Pineda; they were the first of a numerous band of writers in the field. Special topics attracted the labors of an even larger group of Jesuit scholars of the old Society. In the seventeenth century Rosweyde wrote on the history of the Church in the Low Countries; Inchofer, the *Annales Ecclesiastici Regni Hungariae,* (Rome 1644); Bouchier, on the early Frankish Church; and Rapin, two important works on Jansenism, *Histoire du jansénisme* (edited by Domenech, Paris 1861), and *Mémoires sur l'église, la société, la cour, la ville et le jansénisme* (edited by Aubineau, Paris 1865). In the eighteenth century the following contributors were outstanding: Bonnucci, a prolific writer, of special importance for his *Istoria del Pontefice Ottimo Massimo il Beato Gregorio X* (Rome 1711); Pusch, with his investigations in the ecclesiastical history of Styria; Catrou,[3] with his *Histoire des Anabaptistes,* (Paris 1695); Calles, with his six folio *Annales ecclesiastici Germaniae,* (Vienna 1756-1769); Hansiz, with his important *Germania Sacra,* (Augsburg 1727, 1729, Vienna 1755); Zaccaria, with his twenty-two volume *Raccolta di dissertazioni di storia ecclesiastica,* (Rome 1792-1797); Farlati, Riceputi and Coletti with their monumental *Illyricum Sacrum,* (Venice 1759-1769, 1775-1819), in eight folios; and Longueval, Fontenai, Brumoy and Berthier with their great common work, *Histoire de l'Église Gallicane,* (Paris 1730-1749).

The Jesuits of the new Society have been almost exclusively occupied with ecclesiastical history. It may well be maintained

[3] Most of Catrou's works were written in the eighteenth century; the best editions of the work cited were produced in that period.

that in research, critical appraisal of sources and presentation of facts, they have surpassed the best works of their brethren of the earlier period. And likewise it may be said that their writings compare favorably with the product of current historical work. For early church history, Hartmann Grisar's *Geschichte Roms und der Päpste im Mittelalter,* (Freiburg 1901), gave great promise; it was unfortunate that circumstances permitted the appearance of only the initial volume (which has been translated into English in three volumes). John Ryan's *Irish Monasticism,* (Dublin 1931), is an excellent contribution to the study of the early Gaelic monks. For the story of the Medieval Church there are the works of Cardinal Ehrle and Emil Michael already cited, for much of the labors of these two scholars concerned ecclesiastical matters. Then there are the writings of Giuseppe Brunengo, also cited before, especially his *Le origini della sovranità temporale dei Papa,* (Rome 1861); and the productions of Andreas Kobler, *Studien über die Klöster des Mittelalters,* (Regensburg 1867), and *Katholisches Leben im Mittelalter,* (Regensburg 1887-1889). In the history of the Protestant Revolution one of the most outstanding works of modern Catholic scholarship is Hartmann Grisar's *Luther* (Freiburg 1911-1912), three volumes in the original German and six in the English translation; Lutheran scholars have accorded it the highest praise. The study of the English religious upheaval has been well served by the writings of Joseph Stevenson, John Morris, John Gerard and Herbert Thurston, but especially by J. Hungerford Pollen. Other noteworthy modern Jesuit writers in church history are: Cardinal Steinhuber with his *Geschichte des Collegium Germanicum,* (Freiburg 1895); Augustin Barruel[4] with his *Histoire du clergé pendant la revolution français,* (London 1793), and his *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire du Jacobinisme,* (London 1797-1798); Ivan Gargarin with his numerous writings on the Russian Church; Paul Pierling with his five-volume *La Russie et le Saint Siège,* (Paris 1896-1912); Theodor Granderath with his *Geschichte des Vatikanischen Konzils,* (Freiburg 1903-1906); and Mariano Cuevas with his valuable five-volume *Historia de la Iglesia en Mexico,* (El Paso, 1928).

[4] Barruel was a member of both the old and new Society.

A very important division of ecclesiastical history comprehends the study and editing of the Councils of the Church. Jesuit scholars of the old Society made important contributions to this department. Jacques Sirmond produced the *Concilia antiqua Galliae,* (Paris 1629); Philip Labbe brought out a large number of works on the Councils, the most important being the *Sacrosancta concilia ad regiam editionem exacta,* (Paris, 1671-1672), in eighteen folios, which was completed by Gabriel Cossart; Jean Hardouin edited the *Acta conciliorum, et epistolae decretales ac constitutiones summorum pontificum,* (Paris 1725), a work generally conceded to contain the most critical edition of the text of the councils. The history of the Council of Trent by Cardinal Pallavicino, *Istoria del Concilio di Trento,* (Rome 1656), has frequently been reprinted; and until recent times this masterly refutation of Sarpi was considered the principal work on that great council. The combined labors of Joseph Hartzheim, Hermann Scholl, Aegidius Neissen and Joseph Hesselmann produced the *Concilia Germaniae,* (Cologne 1759-1790), a collection of German councils. Mention must be made of the labors of Dionysius Petavius, or in his native tongue Denis Petau, in Patrology and in the history of dogma; they were of such value that Petavius has been accorded the title: "The Father of the History of Dogma". In the new Society the most valuable work on the Councils is the *Collectio Lacensis* (*Acta et decreta conciliorum recentiorum*), (Freiburg 1870-1890), which was produced by the German Jesuits under the direction of Gerhard Schneeman and Theodor Granderath in 1870, at the time when the Jesuit house of studies of the German Province was located at Maria Laach.

It is in the field of hagiography that the Jesuit historians have made their most important contribution. That contribution is the *Acta Sanctorum* of the Bollandists, an enormous work (to date sixty-three folios and yet incomplete) on the lives of the Saints of the Roman Martyrology.[5] Rosweyde, a Jesuit from the Low Countries, was the first to conceive this monumental project. Neither he nor his immediate successors realized the enormous task

[5] Delehaye, *The Works of the Bollandists through Three Centuries 1615-1915.* (Translated from the French) Princeton University Press (1922).

which they had planned; St. Robert Bellarmine, on perusing Rosweyde's prospectus, remarked that his brother religious must have been counting on living for two hundred years. Rosweyde accomplished little more than the collection of an enormous amount of manuscript material. On his death in 1629 Jan Bolland, of the same province of the Society, was entrusted with the work. Bolland changed Rosweyde's plans considerably, searched farther abroad for materials and began the editing of the sources and the actual writing of the lives. His name has been given to the fathers who have carried on his work, so that up to the present day they have been known as the Bollandists. With few exceptions they have been Jesuits from the Low Countries. The non-Jesuits were the young Benedictines whom the Jesuits trained to carry on the work at the time of the suppression of the Society of Jesus and one secular priest who also labored during that period. However, as the work was suspended shortly after the suppression and was renewed again in 1837 by the Jesuits only, the Bollandists' labors are almost exclusively the work of the members of the Society of Jesus. Associated with Bolland, or carrying on the project after his death, were many noted Jesuit scholars, notably Cuyper, Pinius, editor of the Mozarabic Liturgy, Stiltink and Ghesquière. But in effort none of these surpassed Henschen who toiled for forty-six years at the task, nor Papenbroeck who devoted fifty years to the critical study of the lives of the saints.

In 1837, twenty-three years after the general restoration of the Society, the Belgian Jesuits again took up the work, establishing their quarters at the College de St. Michel in Brussels. In 1845 Volume LIV appeared, and since then nine more have been produced. For the furtherance of scientific studies on the lives of the saints a periodical, the *Analecta Bollandiana,* (Brussels 1883–), was founded in 1883 by de Smedt, van Hoff and J. de Backer; both its articles and its reviews have been written in the best traditions of Bollandist scholarship. For the same purpose several other large volumes have been published, such as: the *Bibliotheca hagiographica Graeca,* (Brussels 1895, 1909), *Bibliotheca hagiographica Latina antiquae et mediae aetatis,* (Brussels 1898-1899), *Bibliotheca hagiographica orientalis,* (Brussels 1910),

and catalogues of the hagiographical codices to be found in the Royal Library of Brussels, the National Library of Paris, the Vatican Library, and other libraries in Germany, Belgium and England. The work of the Bollandists in recent years has been broadened beyond the treatment of the saints of the Roman martyrologies. Among the modern Bollandists may be mentioned de Buck, de Smedt, Delehaye, van Ortroy, Peeters and van de Vorst.

Jesuits of other provinces of the Society contributed to hagiography by their writings on the lives of patricular saints or groups of saints. Thus Rader produced a three-volume work on the Bavarian saints; Macedo treated the patron-saints of the countries and cities of Christendom; Strunk wrote the lives of the saints of Westphalia; Cepari composed striking biographies of Sts. Aloysius, John Berchmanns, Frances of Rome and Mary Magdalene de' Pazzi; Prileszki wrote the *Acta Sanctorum Hungariae,* (Tyrnau 1743). In the modern Society the foremost work was done by Otto Braunsberger in his eight volumes, *Beati Petri Canisii, Acta et Epistolae,* (Freiburg 1896-1923). Among other later Jesuit biographers of the saints may be listed: Boero; Schurhammer, with his researches on St. Francis Xavier; Brodrick, the author of two important works, a life of St. Robert Bellarmine and a life of St. Peter Canisius; Coleridge; Anderdon; Meschler, who composed an excellent life of St. Aloysius; and Martindale, author of several popular lives of the saints. Jesuits have made translations of the Roman martyrology into German, French, Bohemian, Polish, Portuguese, Spanish and Greek.

The largest part of the Jesuit historical writing has been in the field of the Society's own history. This is a fact especially true of the works of modern scholars of the Society. To describe the output of local and special histories, of monographs, and of documental collections, would require a paper exclusively dealing with that subject. Here only a few names and titles can be mentioned. The outstanding general history of the order, produced before the suppression, was the *Historia Societatis Jesu* in eight folio volumes, brought out at Rome by Orlandini in 1615 and continued by Sacchini, Poussines, Jouvancy and Cordara. A further volume was added by Ragazzini, of the new Society, in 1859. An important

work of a similar nature in the old period was Bartoli's *Dell Istoria della Compagnia di Giesù, Rome,* (1653-1673). Among the writers on special topics, a few of the more outstanding before the fatal year of 1773 were: Aguilera, Schinose and Santagata for Italy; Valdivia and Alcazar for Spain; Franco and Tellez for Portugal; Agricola, Flatto, Kropf, Reiffenberg and Socher for Germany; Schmidle for Bohemia; Argenti for Poland; Rostowski for Lithuania; More and Persons for England.

In the restored Society of Jesus, even more than in the old body, the historical writers have devoted themselves to the history of the Society. One of the most important of their works is the *Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu,* (Madrid 1894–), a vast collection of sixty volumes of documents on the beginnings of the Society. The fathers of the Spanish provinces have been editing this great work since 1894. Two other valuable collections are: Augustine Carayon's *Documents inédits concernant la Compagnie de Jésus,* (Paris 1863-1870, 1886), in twenty-three volumes, and Henry Foley's *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus,* (London 1873-1893). Bibliographies of the Jesuit writers have been produced by Sommervogel with his *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus,* (Brussels 1890-1910), which was based on the previous works of Carayon and the two de Backers; Stöger with his *Historiographia Societatis Jesu,* (Münster-Regensburg 1851); and Uriarte with his *Catalogo razando de obras anónimas y seudónimas de autores de la compañia de Jesus pertenecientes á la antigua assistencia española,* (Madrid 1904). Under the inspiration of Father Luis Martin, the father-general from 1892-1906, were begun the histories of the assistancies, that is, the linguistic divisions of the Society. These works are truly monumental, written with the greatest detail and in the best critical spirit; they may be placed in comparison with the best modern historical writing. The list of them is as follows: Astrain, *Historia de la Compañia de Jesus en la assistencia de España,* (Madrid 1912-1925), (in seven volumes); Frias, *Historia de la Compañia de Jesus en su asistencia moderna de España,* (Madrid 1923), (to date in one volume); Rodriguez, *Historia da Companhia de Jesus na Assistencia de Portugal,* (Porto 1931), (in two volumes); Tacchi-Venturi, *Storia della*

Compagnia di Gesu in Italia, (Rome, Milan 1910-1922), (two volumes); Duhr, *Geschichte des Jesuiten in den Ländern deutscher Zunge,* (Freiburg 1907-1913, München-Regensburg 1921-1928), (in four volumes); Vebics, *Vélics a Magyar Jezsuiták Multjából,* (Budapest 1912-1914), (in two volumes); Kroes, *Geschichte der böhmischen Provinz der Gesellschaft Jesu,* (Vienna 1910-1927), (in two volumes); Fougqueray, *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus en France, 1528-1762,* (Paris 1910-1925), (in five volumes); Burnichon, *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus en France, 1819-1914,* (Paris 1914-1922), (in four volumes to date); Poncelet, *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus dans les Anciens Pays-Bas,* (Brussels 1927), (in two volumes); Hughes, *History of the Society of Jesus in North America, Colonial and Federal,* (London 1907-1917), (in four volumes); Garraghan, *The Jesuits of the Middle United States,* (New York 1938), (in three volumes); and Hernandez, *La Compañia de Jesus en las republicas del Sud de America, 1836-1914,* (Barcelona 1914). Of the even more local histories of the order, a large number of single volumes, monographs and articles have been brought out. Space prevents their discussion; but mention may be made of the works of Pollen and Hicks on the English Jesuits and Hogan on the Irish Jesuits, because of the interest they possess for the English-speaking world.

Special mention has been reserved for the history of the Jesuit foreign missions. There are few phases of the history of the Society for which there exist richer documentary sources than the records of these missions. The obligation of sending frequent reports to the European superiors and the custom, originating with the first Jesuit missionaries, of writing down and later publishing their experiences, have resulted in a veritable library on the races and customs of the aborigines, on the progress and failures of the missions, and on the development of the colonies. The seventy-three volumes of the *Jesuit Relations of New France,* (English edition, Cleveland 1896-1901), are known to all. They are but one of several similar collections; such as the thirty volumes of the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses écrites par quelques missionaires de la compagnie de Jésus,* (Paris 1702 ff), and the thirty-six volumes of translations to be found in the *Der neue Weltbott,* (Augsburg,

Graz, Vienna 1726 ff). Every group of Jesuit missionaries of the old Society, whether in the Far East, the Near East, India, Africa, North or South America brought out hundreds of reports and letters covering their activities. The missionaries also published many histories of their particular fields of labor, as for example: José de Acosta's important *Historia natural y moral de las Indias,* (Seville 1590), a work which has been translated into Latin French, Italian, German, English and Dutch; Schall's *Historica relatio de ortu et progressu fidei orthodoxae in Regno Chinesi 1581-1669,* (Regensburg 1672), Ruiz de Montoya's *Conquista espiritual por los religiosos de la Compañia de Jesus en las Provincias del Paraguay, Paraña, Uruguay y Tape,* (Madrid 1639), and Colin's *Labor evangelica de los obreros de la compañia de Jesus en las islas Filipinas,* (Madrid 1663). Many of the Jesuit historians of the old Society who were not actively engaged in the mission work produced histories of the various missions. Foremost among these was Francois Charlevoix, called the "Herodotus of the Missions"; three volumes on the Japanese mission, two on the Reductions of Paraguay, and three on the works in New France came from his pen. Other such writers were: Fleaurion d'Armenonville with his *Noveaux Mémoires de Missions de la Compagnie de Jésus dans le Levant,* (Paris, Caen 1715-1727), Lozano with his *Historia de la Compañia de Jesus en la Provincia del Paraguay* (Madrid 1754-1755), and Moraes with his *Historia da Companhia de Jesus da Provincia de Maranhan e Para,* (Brazil) (Evora 1759).

The Jesuits of the new Society have given special attention to the history of the order's missions. Beccari has edited and published the documents concerning the Ethiopian mission; the same service has been rendered by Tacchi-Venturi for the *Opere Storiche* of the celebrated Chinese missionary, Matteo Ricci, and by Wieger for the whole Chinese mission in his three volume *Textes Historiques de l'histoire de Chine,* (1906). The general history of the Jesuit missions has been served by Brou in his *Les Jésuites Missionaires au XIX^e Siècle,* (Brussels 1908), and in cooperation with Arimont in *Les Jésuites Missionaires au XIX^e et XX^e Siècles, aperçu général des Missions de la Compagnie de Jésus,* (Paris 1928). Of the works dealing with special phases, Pastell's four-

volume history of the Jesuits of Paraguay, and Rochemonteix's five volumes on the French Jesuits of Canada deserve special mention. A few of the other historians of particular regions are: Chantre-y-Herrera, Enrich, Suau, Hernandez, Jacobsen and Shiels for the Spanish missions; Repetti for the Philippine mission; d'Azevedo for the Brazilian mission; Lecompt, Jones, Le Clerq and Delanglez for the missions of New France; Crosset and Schurhammer for the Japanese mission; and Väth for the mission of the German fathers in Bombay. A new and praiseworthy development in the writing of Jesuit history is the Institute of Jesuit History recently founded and maintained by Loyola University, Chicago. Here a group of trained historians work upon the record of American Jesuit history, so large a part of which includes the story of the missions.

In the auxiliary sciences connected with historical studies, the Jesuits have made their contribution. The Bollandists share with the scholarly Benedictines of St. Maur the credit for the inception of modern historical criticism; and of the older Bollandists, Papenbroeck had probably the greatest influence. In paleography good work was accomplished by Cardinal Mai, Marini, Villada Garcia and Silva-Tarouca; in epigraphy, by Morcelli, called by some the "Father of Epigraphy", Marchi, Garucci, Martin, Fita and Strassmaier; in diplomatics, by Frölich, Hartzheim, Caprini, Narbone and Peitz; in chronology, by Andrian, Zaccaria and Petavius; and in numismatics, by Hardouin, Khell, Eckhel, Garucci, Burriel and Cahier. Three works of modern Jesuit scholars in methodology and historical criticism are of high value; they are *Metodologia y critica historia*, (Barcelona 1912), by Villada Garcia, *Principes de la critique historique*, (Liege 1883), by de Smedt, and the *Lehrbuch der geschichtlichen Methode*, (Regensburg 1924), by Feder.

A considerable part of the present-day Jesuit historical writing is to be found in great coöperative works or in learned journals. Thus the *Kirchen-Lexikon*, the *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, the *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et Géographie Ecclésiastique*, the *Historisches Jahrbuch* of the Görres Gesellschaft and the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, count many Jesuit historians among their collaborators. In the twenty-four learned reviews published by the Jesuits, such

for instance as the *Civiltà Cattolica*, the *Études*, the *Stimmen der Zeit*, the *Month*, *Studies*, and *Thought*, a large proportion of the articles written by Jesuits deal with historical subjects. A purely historical review is edited at Loyola University, Chicago, the *Mid-America*, (Chicago 1918-); the majority of its articles are the productions of Jesuit historical writers. At St. Louis University is published a review dedicated to the service of teachers of history, the *Historical Bulletin*, (St. Louis 1922-). For the exclusive treatment of Jesuit history, in 1932 there was founded at Rome the *Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu*, (Rome 1932–); it is produced and edited in the best critical tradition.

Such, then, is a brief, sketchy review of the work of Jesuit historians during the four hundred years of the existence of their Society. It is a large contribution; on the whole, it may be said to be an important contribution. It may be a source of inspiration to historical scholars; certainly it ought to be such for the young Jesuit scholars of the future.

MARTIN P. HARNEY, S.J.

THE RÔLE OF CATHOLIC CULTURE IN VENEZUELA

In colonial Venezuela the relations of Church and state, based on a reciprocal co-operation as the Spanish Catholic social theory demanded, proceeded on the whole harmoniously. What differences arose were never on points of dogma and usually confined to disputes on points of jurisdiction or clashes of personalities.

The prolific source of disputes was the *patronato*. Originally this was granted to the kings of Spain as a practical solution towards the problem of conversion. While the kings remained in agreement with the aims of the papacy and accepted the principles delimiting the respective fields of authority, there was little friction and none of a serious nature.

With the latter Habsburg rulers, new ideas on royal prerogatives began to be assumed. The old view of the Spanish monarchy as outlined in the codes was colored by imported Roman law ideas of absolute sovereignty and what was granted originally as a privilege began to be assumed as a right by the kings. The net result of such a point of view was to incline the monarchy to assume a certain supremacy over the pope and through the regalias to aim to control the activities of the Church, making it subordinate to the royal aims and ambitions. This movement did not come out in the open until after the advent of the Bourbons and did not come to a climax until the reign of Charles III.

It must be remembered that the eighteenth century saw a certain logical culmination of the teachings of Descartes and Locke. From the one came an abstract view of human nature and a reversal of the old metaphysical values; from the second a materialism and a concentration on the merely human that was eventually to wreck the old harmony between the natural and the supernatural. The general result was a secularized view of life and society.

This was also the century of considerable Masonic propaganda and the rise of the so-called popular Enlightenment culture. Such

influences were alien to the Spanish temperament and character, and we might add never fully accepted by either Spaniards or Hispanic Americans. They did nevertheless meet with a certain acceptance from various leaders both in Church and state. Their novelty, the plausible presentation, their air of tolerant wisdom, the errors of the Spanish government, easily captured certain types of character.

On the other hand the Catholic life so profoundly integrated requires a leadership thoroughly conversant with theological truths in their applications, not to mention an appreciation of, and a confidence in, spiritual values, the basis of which is the virtue of faith. Not every generation is fortunate to produce leaders so endowed and thus prepared to detect where the attack on the Catholic view of life may be centered.

The Enlightenment made its attack on faith, but as the Protestant view of faith became familiar to those Spaniards with a broader acquaintance with the English and Dutch, they became insensibly prepared to accept Protestant views of life, first in philosophy (Locke was popular in Spain), then in economics, and finally in religion. They became deists almost without knowing it.

This was for the intelligentsia. As for the government, opponents of the Catholic idea saw in the *patronato* the key to the final secularization of the government. So the *patronato* becomes the bone of contention, which distracted attention from the underlying principles and weakened resistance in the long run.

In assaying the conditions for the functioning of the Church created by the revolutionary movements and the establishment of independent Venezuela, certain factors should be kept clearly in mind. We cannot dwell upon the complicated causes which led to the independence of Hispanic America and to the confusion revealed by the line-up in Venezuela for or against continued union with Spain, but it was inevitable that with time the colonies would take their place among the independent nations of the world. That the moment came earlier than might seem best for both Spain and the colonies, was due to the historical events of the European wars for the balance of power in which Spain was forced to engage against her desires and interests, and to the rise of new economic theories

which made Hispanic America a prize to be won. For the fate of Catholic culture the crucial factor was that the success of the revolutionary movement lay in the hands of leaders who for one reason or another had departed from Catholicism and were taken up with the new ideas of the secularists and French revolutionary writers on democracy, authority and the rights of the people.

In saying that the leaders had abandoned Catholicism we are not considering their personal religious views. Some of them merely strayed from the practices of their youth, some never took religion seriously, some returned at the end to die in the faith of their fathers. We mean rather that none of them really understood the significance of the Catholic Spanish plan of social organization and therefore did not know how to assay the existing evils and to institute the proper reforms in line with the modern conditions. Hence when the links with Spain were finally broken no one knew how to reconstruct the edifice of Hispanic American life on its traditional basis. Some were even positively antagonistic to this and made every effort to oppose it, but most were just misled. We might say that the enemies of the Church understood her better than her friends, for they knew where to make the most telling assaults, whereas the defenders, though loyal and devoted, were unable to outline the proper defense so as to rally public opinion to its support. The divided culture in Europe in which the non-Catholic area seemed to have most of the success and the wealth, had its influence.

In none of the colonies was the effect of all this so disastrous as in Venezuela. Owing to its strategic location and special conditions, Venezuela became the pivot of the new order and produced one of the two statesmen of the revolutionary movement. While some may give the palm to San Martín, Bolívar actually occupied the position of power and so his influence was the greater though he was not sure enough of himself in the end and so failed.

Some critics do not give sufficient weight to the Catholic background of Bolívar and hence describe his policy towards the Church as opportunistic more often than not. It is true that his views reflected the various experiences of his life, and towards the end he saw more clearly than at the beginning of his career. He did

recognize, however, that Venezuela was too Catholic to accept in the modern style a total secularization of her society. Also he was convinced that without the support of the Church no stable order could be maintained.

Miranda on the other hand much more wholeheartedly accepted the liberal philosophy, and in his proposed constitution for the Church which he outlined for William Pitt in 1808 he utilized all the ideas of the French civil constitution of the clergy and in addition proposed to anticipate Russian communist ideas in denying civil rights to the clergy.

He adopted the theory that religious toleration was a natural right, that key principle of the liberals, who so often fail to distinguish between the definitions of freedom of conscience and toleration. While Venezuela could not swallow the constitution of the clergy, very much conflict was caused by the many attempts to introduce the Liberal principle of toleration into the constitutions proposed and adopted for the new state of Venezuela.

In fact this attempt and Article 180 of the Constitution abolishing the ecclesiastical *fueros* have introduced wedges dividing Venezuelan society ever since. Moderns persistently translate the *fueros* by privileges of the clergy, thinking no doubt of the similarity between the Latin *privilegium* and the English word privileges. What was understood by the *privilegium* was the reciprocal right and duty, and the *fuero* was the expression and guard of these. The Constitution of 1811 abolished the *patronato* and conceded to the congress power to conclude a concordat with the pope.

Bolívar understood his people better than Miranda and was not prepared to push foreign ideas on religion and the position of the Church too far, although he too dabbled in liberal ideas as his constitution proposed to the congress of Angostura shows.

The anti-clerical and liberal group was strong as may be deduced from the congress of Cúcuta and the debates on ecclesiastical affairs. If the leaders were pro-Liberal, the mass of the people were Catholic and resented attacks on the Church, in which they were supported by the clergy. This explains much of the support given to the Spanish party. The idea for independence did not

conquer the people until it was clear that the independence of the Church could expect little from Spain.

The struggle narrowed down on the part of the liberals to control the Church, and if this should prove impossible, then to abolish it altogether by restrictions on her liberty of action, religious orders and ecclesiastical property; and on the part of the hierarchy to secure for the Church the position most favorable to her liberty of action. This was not an easy task for the bitter wars of the revolutionary years had greatly weakened the organization of society, the missions were abandoned or destroyed and the hierarchy itself was in confusion. Most of the Spanish bishops had left. Greater Colombia had but two bishops, the Spanish bishop of Popayán and the creole bishop of Mérida. The chapters lacked the official canons necessary to carry on the business of the sees. Guayana had no canons left. In 1822 only one priest was reported for Guayana. The reduction of the clergy from death, exile and emigration was everywhere alarming. Even as late as 1847 Venezuela had fewer priests than she had in the colonial era. Ecclesiastical organization and discipline collapsed, and when the government proceeded to fill vacancies in the chapters contrary to canon law, it was acquiesced in, though reluctantly as the lesser of two evils. The effect of all this on the prestige of the Church among the people can be imagined.

A new organization for the Church in Venezuela was necessary and it was hoped that this would give the opportunity to free the Church from the *patronato*. No new bishops could be appointed without the action of the pope. Neither could the pope now deal directly with the Church in Venezuela, nor would the government request the *patronato*. The chances of the republic approaching the papacy in any friendly spirit of co-operation were rather remote. Those in charge between 1821-23 were clearly in favor of religious toleration which in effect would reduce the status of the Church to a sect among sects with government regulation, if not actual supremacy.

The debate on the *patronato* was long and bitter. Some took the point of view that the *patronato* passed automatically to the republican government since it was inherent in the sovereign

authority which had now passed from Ferdinand VII to Venezuela. While this might be argued on the doctrines of Rousseau on authority and sovereignty, it could not be proved by the lawyers going on the Spanish codes and the actual grant of the *patronato* originally to the Catholic kings. Liberals impatient of legal justifications could not see why the congress could not establish it. Some of the hierarchy thought that the *patronato* might be continued if the government would consent to ask and to receive it from the pope. Others were opposed to reviving the *patronato* at all, as contrary to the true interests of religion and the Church in Venezuela.

The pro-*patronato* party won out and the lew of July 28, 1824 produced a constitution for the Church in Venezuela which still continues on the statute books as it was taken over by the Venezuelan government after 1830 and the break with Colombia.

The preamble to this law assumes that the Church in Venezuela had been regulated by the discipline of the *patronato* from its foundations under Spanish rule and therefore it should still be continued with the exercise of the rights adapted to the new government.

Article I clearly states that the republic of Colombia shall continue in the exercise of the rights of the *patronato* that the king of Spain had in the metropolitan churches, cathedrals and parishes of this part of America. Article II claims that it is the duty of the republic of Colombia and of its government to sustain this right and to secure from the Apostolic See that it be neither varied or changed in any respect: and in accordance with this principle the executive shall celebrate with the papacy a concordat that shall assume forever and irremovable this prerogative to the republic and prevent complaints and reclamations in the future.

Forty-one articles regulate in great detail the relations between Church and State, but these first two articles give the basic philosophy of the total supremacy of the state over the Church. It assumes the *patronato* as a right, and with the Rousseauistic notions of the time, this right could only be considered as absolute.

As a matter of fact the *patronato* was never regarded by the papacy as a right, but always as a favor granted by the pope in

view of certain conditions, and as such within the province of the pope to withdraw it as he had granted it. While the Spanish kings always insisted on the rights under the *patronato*, none of them ever laid claim to the *patronato* itself by right until the time of Philip V, but neither he nor any of the Bourbon kings ever succeeded in securing from the papacy any agreement that it was a right.

Meantime in Venezuela the proponents of the *patronato* law conducted an active campaign to secularize education and encouraged in the press a campaign of anti-clericalism and anti-religion. The storm aroused over the teaching of Bentham's *Principles of Universal Legislation* shows how unpopular these ideas were among the people, but they made good headway among the more educated classes prepared by a generation of liberal barrages. The propaganda was greatly assisted by the Masonic lodges which the government encouraged. English and United States influences were stronger in Venezuela and so these ideas received a greater welcome there than in Colombia. Public opinion was so aroused in Colombia that by 1828 Bolívar feared his great work was in danger of being submerged in civil wars. He considered it absolutely necessary for the preservation of Colombia to establish peace with the Church, and to this end abolished the teaching of Bentham in the colleges and universities, annulled the law of 1821 providing for the extinction of convents with less than eight members, ordered the restoration of chaplains to the army, encouraged the clergy in their efforts to discipline the people, and placed the archbishop of Bogotá on his council. He also furthered negotiations with Rome.

Rome had not been indifferent to events in Hispanic America but proceeded slowly and prudently since the interests of the Church in Hispanic America had to be considered along with her interests in Europe. The entanglements caused by the Holy Alliance and the *patronato* in Spain were only one element. The long distances between Europe and America, the delays in securing accurate information, the need of time to assure the establishment of independence, and the fact that any action taken by the Holy See in dealing directly with the new states would be considered a

diplomatic recognition of their independence. Nevertheless the pope was most anxious to supply the needs of the Church in Hispanic America and to abandon the *patronato* as soon as practicable.

A nunciature for the Indies had been desired as early as the sixteenth century, but Philip II and the junta of 1568 had ended the chances of establishing it then. The idea seemed more practicable at the time of independence and Mgr. Juan Muzi was sent over as first apostolic delegate, but his mission was not a success and he left for Italy before the battle of Ayacucho had definitely secured independence for Hispanic America.

The idea of a nuncio was suggested to L. Delpesch, chargé d'affaires of Venezuela, to Napoleon in 1813, and renewed in the congress of Angostura in 1819, proposed also in a letter to Pius VII on April 19, 1823, by the bishop of Popayán and by the bishop of Mérida in 1823. Conditions were not ripe for this but in 1824 Don Ignacio Texada arrived in Rome as ambassador from Colombia.

The immediate problem was the appointment of bishops to the vacant sees. This raised the question of the *patronato* and brought on the opposition of Ferdinand VII to prevent any disregard of his rights under it and also any quasi-recognition of independence. At first Texada was a little inept in his diplomacy, but he learned by experience and finally it was decided to appoint the bishops *motu proprio* without presentation to the king or to the government of Colombia, and to follow the list of candidates agreed on by the ecclesiastical *cabildo*.

At this time Bolívar was busy in Peru, and while these negotiations were going on Texada received a document from the Colombian congress in 1826. This document provided for the separation of the Church into Eastern and Western and the erection of Bogotá into a patriarchate with the right to create new dioceses and confirm bishops without reference to Rome. Texada refrained prudently from presenting this document. He merely reported that his government was getting impatient at the delay. And so finally Leo XII appointed the bishops which were also on the list previously agreed upon between the bishop of Mérida and Bolívar. There was no mention in the bull of the right of presentation for the government of Colombia.

When Bolivar returned to Bogotá in 1827 and learned of the proposed patriarchate idea, he was much disturbed. He took occasion at a banquet given to the three bishops then present in Bogotá to comment upon the papal appointments and to say that, although the links with the Church of Rome had been broken, now Mother Church had restored them and given pastors worthy of the Church and of the republic. These illustrious prelates, he said, are our sacred links with heaven and earth. They will be our masters and models of religious and political virtues. The union of the thurible with the sword of the law is the true ark of the covenant. Thus spoke the voice of the Catholic statesman and of Catholic culture.

Bolívar did not desire the law of the *patronato*. It was sanctioned while he was in Peru and Santander was in charge of the government, but he was called in to calm the storm raised by the applications of this law. He was even asked to write a letter to the pope asking him to grant the *patronato*. This he refused to do as the style was out of his line, but he agreed to sign if it were written by one who knew how do do so.

This was done and he signed the letter on November 7, 1828. Pope Leo XII never received it, for he died on February 10, 1829, and Bolívar himself was soon out of Venezuelan affairs. Pope Gregory XVI followed the policy of appointing bishops *motu proprio*.

Present Situation

The definitely liberal cast of the constitution of 1830 and succeeding ones, with the law of *patronato*, have had the general effect of a gradual decatholization of the social order of Venezuela. By 1900 this was fairly complete. It was not accomplished without great opposition, and indeed much of the revolutionary history of Venezuela can be traced to this fundamental disorder, though the impracticable constitutions so unsuited to the actualities of Venezuelan life are great contributing causes to the wars. These wars have absorbed the vitality of the people, and the quality of leadership both in Church and State has suffered from this. Although the liberal ideas seemed to monopolize the attention of the educated classes, it is a proof of the vitality of the Church that she

maintained herself in being in the discouraging circumstances she had to face in the nineteenth century.

Three periods stand out as particularly crucial: 1830-48; the administration of Guzmán Blanco; the present day.

Certainly the question of the Church was very influential in the separation from Colombia, but the exact significance for Venezuelan culture was perceived by only a few of the clergy. Possibly this was due in large part to the methods gradually succeeding in the first eighteen years.

The Constitution of 1830 contained no articles on religion. The press buttressed the propaganda for religious toleration with ingenuous arguments. It was said that religious toleration would encourage the much-needed immigration. The argument ran as follows:

> Without liberty of worship to foreigners, we shall have no immigration.
>
> If there is no foreign immigration there will be no population.
>
> Without population we cannot have liberty, wealth and general happiness.
>
> Without these benefits we shall be less than we are today! Nothing!

But the point of the whole argument was that the immigrants would not be Catholic.

Another line of attack was opened with the abolition of the *fueros* of the clergy by the constituent congress, again on disingenuous grounds. The *fueros* were represented as an attack on liberty and obstacles to democratic equality. To deprive the clergy of their *fueros* was in this society to deprive them of their social functions and to accustom the people to get along without their leadership. Article 215 deprived the clergy of exemption from taxation.

The Congress decided to require an oath to be taken by all citizens in their respective cathedrals and churches. On the day the oath was to be taken Archbishop Méndez of Caracas, who had been protesting the constitution all along, issued a statement sum-

ming up his objections. He considered that the Catholic religion should be the only one recognized; the Congress should not have power to establish ecclesiastical divisions. Freedom of speech should not extend to discussions belonging solely to ecclesiastical control; congress should not control the education in the seminaries; ecclesiastical jurisdiction should be considered in the judicial organization. He thought that the liberal definitions of liberty should be clarified so that the provision that one might do anything not prohibited by law should include the divine and ecclesiastical law as well. He maintained that Article 215 on the taxes to be levied without class privileges should be preceded by negotiations with the pope. He offered to take the oath with the understanding that the Catholic Church remain the exclusive church of Venezuela, that the government conclude a concordat with the pope in reference to Article 215 and that the independence and discipline of the Church be maintained. Other questions he would be willing to leave to future congresses to decide.

Here spoke the Catholic anxious to preserve for the guidance of society certain principles safeguarding and recognizing the proper place of the spiritual interests in the social organization. Archbishop Méndez' objections were presented to the council. The Secretary of the Interior, Guzmán, replied with a truly liberal flourish: "that the constitution as the fundamental law of the nation was so sacred that anyone who failed to recognize its authority was not able to be a public functionary; that an archbishop who refused to take the oath was dangerous to the public tranquillity; that if he did not take the oath he would be suspended from his office and exiled at once." Whereupon the archbishop went into exile to Curaçoa where he found his nephew, Bricenño Méndez, and where he was later joined by those priests who refused to take the oath.

The defenders of the government tried to give the dispute a political character since in Curaçao there were also various supporters of Bolivar, and Méndez was well known for his devotion to him. Public discussion on the exile was guided into channels defending the sovereignty of the state and equality before the law so that the true issue became obscured. This has had tremendous

influence in dividing the Catholics, as much perhaps as has today the discussion on " democracy ".

Recourse was also had to fine-spun differences on the definitions of *expulsión* and *extranamiento*. The government claimed that the former meant an exercise of violence against the clergy which it disclaimed, although the clergy used that word in describing the exile; whereas the government insisted it meant the second word, a legal act of denaturalization. The distinctions in justice could hardly be appreciated by the clergy. It reminds the moderns of the famous distinction of Secretary Hughes at the Habana Conference of 1928 between interposition and intervention.

The clergy of Caracas kept petitioning the government for the return of their archbishop, insisting that the " general will " of the people demanded in return. The government, however, fell back on Rousseau's principle that once the people had handed over all their rights to the congress it was absolute, and the rights no longer remained in possession of the people. The archbishop finally took the oath and returned to his see in 1832. He continued a vigorous campaign against the general liberal dogmas and the proselytism of various Bible societies. This annoyed the government, especially since it was eager to cultivate the friendship of both England and the United States. The archbishop also vigorously protested the attempts to introduce French and American ideas totally foreign to Venezuelan Catholic traditions. He also protested the execution of various clauses of the *patronato*, whereupon again the government exiled him in 1836 and deprived him of his jurisdiction. He died in Colombia in 1839.

His was the last vigorous protest on the usurpations of the civil power and the last stand against the encroachments of secularism for some time. He realized the fatal character this had for Venezuela.

On March 21, 1833 the *patronato* law of 1824 was formally decreed as the law of the republic. In the same year the tithes were abolished; but fearful that the *patronato* itself might suffer, salaries were voted the clergy. These were far below amounts granted in the colonial period and greatly impoverished the Church. More important, however, was the moral effect upon the people, for

a clergy so dependent upon the government was in danger of subservience.

In 1834 a law was passed granting freedom of worship, and in the same year the first non-Catholic church was opened. But Protestantism never took hold of the people. Although Bolívar had provided for the establishment of convents and restoration of the foundations of the Dominicans and Franciscans in Mérida and Maracaibo, the constituent congress took no action in regard to the status of the religious orders. Finally, in 1837 all convents of men were closed.

In 1833 a decree had been issued prohibiting priests from holding positions in the national schools. In 1837 the secretary of the interior favored the separation of the seminary from the university since it gave too much of an ecclesiastical flavor to the university which should be " national and scientific ". The clergy also wished this separation, which was accomplished in 1856, not for the same reason advanced by the Secretary but because the teaching of Bentham was ruinous to the spirit of the seminary. In 1841 the conservative government found it wise to allow the clergy to teach in the national schools, Pàez gave the interesting reason that the small salaries did not attract those who were capable of filling these positions even if such could be found.

A great project of reform for the Church was issued in 1834 by a senate committee which would have changed the Church beyond all recognition and which was a conglomeration of all the secularist ideas of the past fifty years. This failed of enactment and drew such able refutation from the Catholics as to show the people were far from being willing to give up their religion. Reports all during this period reveal a great shortage of clergy and the failure of the best minds to join its ranks. In 1847, for example, a report has it that there were only 440 priests for the 481 parishes, but one third of these either were ill or too old to serve, and there were 208 parishes without any priests at all.

Some attempts were made to restore the Indian missions. A law of 1841 empowered the president to institute a mission system and to import foreign missionaries. A beginning was made with Guayana where the territory was divided into four districts, each

one in charge of a vice-director and all under the charge of the director-general under the department of the interior. The missionaries could be suspended by the government officials though they were to be under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction for their work. The government had much more interest in the Indians being taught submission to the government than the Catholic religion, and although the plan was extended to Maracaibo the scheme was a failure, unworkable from the start and a prey to politics.

The next twenty years were filled with various incidents creating friction between the clergy and the government and keeping the population more or less disturbed over the religious question. The clergy did not unite on any definite policy. Some priests were found in the ranks of the liberals.

Archbishop Guevara y Lira was the leading figure, and, although he strove for a policy of compromise in order to give peace and a chance for recovery, he never weakened in his fight for the fundamental rights of the Church. The continuous civil wars distracted the people and made any other policy impossible. The dictator Páez was inclined to some solution of the religious problem and authorized Guevara to negotiate a concordat with Pius IX. In 1862 he returned to Venezuela with a concordat. The chief aim of this was to secure liberty for the Church, Catholic education for the people, reforms of the seminaries on the Tridentine principles and various other necessary reforms. The congress of 1864 finding this concordat incompatible with the constitution rejected it. Although a new one was authorized, nothing was accomplished. Masonic agitation increased in the sixties and there was precipitated a controversy on civil matrimony in 1867, but it was not successful at this time.

With the administration of Guzmán, a more aggressive policy was adopted towards the Church which undid practically all that Archbishop Guevara had been able to secure in the way of a *modus vivendi*, if not a reconciliation. Archbishop Guevara was exiled, priests were jailed for expressing sympathy for him, seminaries were closed, convents of nuns destroyed, civil matrimony instituted, removal of restrictions on the marriage of the clergy, were a few of the measures adopted.

The bitterness of the fight precipitated by these events and the damage done the cause of religion were so great that much blame has been cast upon Archbishop Guevara, his archdeacon, Sucre, nephew of the revolutionary leader, and Urdaneta for letting the struggle reach such a stage. It is, however, as in the cases of Archbishops Méndez and Guevara, always only the few who can penetrate below the fogs of controversy to the fundamental issues and reach the points where it is clearly to be seen that compromises are just not possible. There was never any secret about the policy of certain liberals to destroy the Church as a social institution. In fact, while all liberals are not willing to push their principles to logical conclusions, it remains true that secularism and a Catholic social order cannot flourish side by side in the same society. The hard realism of the Spanish character perceives this much more clearly than the Anglo-Saxon, or even the French, and hence the struggle on this issue among those of the Spanish culture is apt to assume a deadly character when the leaders on both sides are clear-sighted.

Guzmán Blanco himself stated the issue very clearly in 1875: Venezuela must resort to one of two extremes: either abdicate her sovereignty and accept Señor Guevara just as Rome wishes to impose him and allow the nation to be converted into a foreign sacristy; or, assuming the legitimate rights of sovereignty . . . discountenance . . . the usurpation of the Curia and establish the Church as exclusively Venezuelan, regulated in accordance with the principles and practices of the primitive religion of Jesus.

The last has an evangelical tinge, but the issue is clear. The Catholic Church as a creation of the civil power is not the church founded by Jesus Christ. This is what Archbishop Guevara saw, and what he feared it meant for his people no doubt steeled him to his course of action. At any rate, his career high-lighted the issue as perhaps nothing else could. We living today when the issue is sharpened to anti-God or pro-God, can appreciate his hard course better than his contemporaries.

Non-Catholic historians hold that the Guzmán Blanco government gave the death-blow to the Church as a social influence in Venezuela. Catholic historians might interpret it otherwise. His

career and the success in the secularization of the culture of Venezuela revealed how widespread was the death of the Catholic conscience of Venezuela and the great necessity of awakening it. The lesson of Archbishop Méndez had not been read aright. In truth Archbishop Guevara had done all that could be done to meet liberalism half way, and failed. Neither he, nor Méndez, would have failed if they had received adequate support from the laity. They did not, for the laity lacked to a great degree a Catholic conscience.

We are not passing criticism on them for this. In the total picture of planting a Catholic culture in the new world, the people of Venezuela were allotted a hard task, that of holding the frontier defenses. They were but a handful to meet the onslaughts, and it is not surprising that they should have received deep wounds. After the Guzmán Blanco battle, it was not that the Church had lost Venezuela, or had been reduced to an outcast position. It was rather that she had been stripped to essentials and in this obscurity and abandonment could contemplate the truth that a Catholic social order begins in the conscience of the people. Thus enlightened and stirred, the people will act and gradually infuse into their institutions their Catholic duties. This was the task for the Church now to attack.

With what slender resources it had to begin! In 1881 more than half the parishes lacked pastors. For six hundred and thirty-nine parishes there were only two hundred and forty-nine priests, and this for a population of more than two million people. All the laws restricting the activity of the Church and all the penalties against the clergy for crimes against the government and the *patronato* law were still on the statutes.

An up-turn became visible with the administration of Rojas Paúl (1889-91). By executive resolution eighteen Sisters of Charity with two chaplains to serve them were permitted to enter Venezuela for work in the welfare institutions of Caracas, and a small sum was set aside monthly for their support. By 1933 there were sixteen congregations at work in the field of education and public welfare. Religious orders of men are also permitted for missionary work.

Possibly the celebrations in honor of the return of the remains of Archbishop Guevara to Caracas are responsible for the changes.

A law of June 2, 1882, made some provisions for the Indians. Lands were to be distributed to those who would return to civil life but nothing was done for the Indians who had relapsed into barbarism. In October, 1890, however, the president authorized the archbishop to bring in fifty Spanish priests of religious orders to serve on the missions. While it was stated that this permission was in no way to affect the status of the *patronato,* the government did admit that the Catholic missions were the only satisfactory method to reduce the Indians to civilization. The government was to pay the passage of the priests and to grant one hundred bolivars monthly for their support. Eight priests arrived under this decree and were sent to the Orinoco region but no provision was made for the formal establishment of the missions in the old Spanish style.

The law of May 12, 1894, outlined a plan for a system of missions to be consigned to the Capuchins, which order had had many of the successful missions under the Spanish régime. By it the government was to request the pope for a bishop *in partibus,* or an apostolic vicar to direct the missions and six missionaries were to remain in Caracas as a medium of communications for the government, since all was to be under government supervision. The salary of the vicar-apostolic was fixed at six hundred bolivars a month and that of the missionaries at two hundred each. Further minor additions were made to the law in 1915 and 1921.

Much delay was experienced in carrying out the provisions of these laws. It was not until 1927 that the vicariate was finally established, since only then did the government grant the permission for the papal bull under the *patronato* regulations. Nothing has changed in the climate, the geographical conditions or the character of the Indians since colonial days, and therefore the difficulties are as great as ever. A new difficulty has arisen in the changed economic ideas. The old mission was based on the medieval view of economics, production for use, co-operative and corporative action. The modern view of production for trade and profit creates difficulties for such a type of mission. It is not that the old type

of mission is forbidden as that the modern generation is not trained in its technique, or if there are found those who are, the difficulties of making it work under a government devoted to the modern views are of course great. The most that a secularist government could be expected to grant would be the idea of a mission as a unit of religious instruction.

At any rate the Orinoco area is still so difficult for economic life that it is dubious how great the success can be. Reports are that the work drags rather than progresses. Some writers trace this to a lack of the old zealous missionary spirit. Perhaps the halting progress is due more to a lack of support from a Catholic society behind it. In the old Spanish days both government and people understood what it was all about, though the people might be vague on details. In other words, the mission was erected in a more sympathetic atmosphere.

A decree of September 28, 1900, allowed the re-establishment of seminaries in Caracas and elsewhere though in accord with the *patronato* law, the constitutions of these must receive governmental approval. Such schools were to be under the supervision of the minister of education. The seminaries may grant the degree of bachelor of philosophy, but the doctorate is reserved to the university. Religious instruction may be given in the government schools if the parents of ten children of the same faith request it, but only for one or two hours a week. Catholic schools may exist but the government evinces no enthusiasm for them and a small minority of pupils attend them.

In judging the support which Venezuelan Catholics give to Catholic activities as rather chilly, it may be remembered that no group of Catholics in any country can organize a flourishing life under such long-continued and positive secularist programs. The long wars finally exhausted the people and they had not the energy. Although it is true that Venezuelan Catholics must take some responsibility for accepting the liberal ideas and thus allowing their solidarity to weaken, we know all Catholic activity receives its direction from the popes through the hierarchy.

Divine Providence assigns the time and the man to give a positive direction to society. The nineteenth century popes were not

indifferent to the characteristic evils of their day. Pius IX issued his *Syllabus of Errors* in modern liberalism in 1864, Pope Leo XIII began the task of arousing the Catholic conscience everywhere with his series of encyclicals, but it was not until Pius X, and still more Pius XI, issued their positive instructions on the part of the laity in Catholic Action and social reconstruction, that formal authorization was given to this peculiar need and peculiar work of our times. In these instructions Catholics are given the principles and directions to dissipate the evils of secularism. The Catholics of Venezuela are beginning to grapple with these problems.

There is still the lack of vocations and there is need to bring in foreign clergy. This creates a problem since the law requires that the clergy must be citizens. The poverty of the Church continues. The government appropriations in 1930 amounted to $90,000. The restrictions of the Guzmán Blanco régime on the right of the clergy to inherit property remain. Although there was never a complete confiscation of church property, little today is owned by the Church. A 1916 valuation amounted to about $450,000, though this did not include some rural holdings not of great value. There has been a nuncio since 1921, though his functions are sometimes embarrassed by the *patronato* regulations.

Civil Marriage is obligatory. Many of the liberals attribute the lack of legal unions to this difficulty and have advocated permitting the clergy to perform legal marriages.

The clergy are interesting themselves in the problems of the people. For example, a Father Eugenio is editor of a semi-official review, *El Agricultor Venezolana*, and several priests are assisting the farmers in defending their rights and improving their condition. Parish life, catechetical work, education, charitable activities all reveal the beneficent influence of the reign of Pius XI. While Catholic Action has not yet assumed the full status contemplated in the papal instructions, the influences of the Catholic Action procedures in Spain, in Portugal, and in Mexico are being felt. Slowly the leaven is working in the Catholic conscience to transform words into deeds.

The milieu of 1941, however, presents fresh difficulties for those who would labor to develop a Catholic social order. Liberalism,

classical liberalism, if such a term may be permitted, has suffered finally its sea change into socialism. So insensibly has this change come about and so subtly is the new propaganda presented that the modern danger is no longer that Catholics may become deists, as in the eighteenth century, but that Catholics may become socialists.

The modern current is to develop the body at the expense of the spirit, but the cult of the body is so persistently furthered under the cloak of charity, of assistance to the needy, the poor, the neglected, the abandoned that there is the great danger of forgeting that Catholic culture derives from the Catholic definitions of man's nature and end. It does not derive from ethical principles, pagan or Catholic, though it must not and will not violate true ethics. Few today even among Catholics dig deep enough to perceive this. The best thought in all the countries, including the United States, Catholic as well as non-Catholic, however, is now feeling its way back to this basic humanism. For the greater number the essentially un-Catholic philosophy of the current social programs is well veiled, though Pius XI of course has clearly analyzed its technique in his great encyclicals.

So once more this danger comes to Venezuela from the outside, from Europe but much also from the United States. American social philosophy has not yet gained contact with Catholic social theory. Although individual Catholics working in the movement bring to bear on its problems their Catholic instincts of ethical principles and Catholic definitions of equality and justice, solutions accepted by Catholics all too often bog down in compromises which end in surrenders of distinctively Catholic principles.

This is the shadow over the new movement for social reconstruction now stirring in Venezuela. Until this real danger is thoroughly appreciated and avoided by Venezuelans, dark days are ahead for Catholic culture. The recent report of a committee on social action organized in the United States in 1939 to visit Venezuela offers considerable foundation for the above remarks.

We may point out that in the section " Social Ideals in Government ", the implied philosophy ignores the juridical basis of authority brought out in the Encyclical on *Christ the King*, and the limitations on authority, sovereignty and jurisdiction which

several of the papal encyclicals make clear, those on Social Reconstruction, Education, Atheistic Communism, in so far as these pertain to the social order. There is nothing in this section specifically barring a socialist state. In addition political philosophers may question whether the purpose of government (*i. e.* state as the term is used in this article) is service. Under so broad a term there is nothing in this article which would inhibit a citizen from accepting from the state about everything from the cradle to the grave, even including religion.

This whole article savors as much of socialism as the Spanish constitution of 1812, the model for so many of the earlier constitutions of Hispanic America savored of liberalism and by so much offers the same number of pitfalls for Catholic culture. Aside from this, however, the underlying socialist philosophy of the article forces any number of contradictions which appear throughout the remainder of the report.

We instance only one: " The State must foster a steady elevation of the standard of living " (p. 10). " The Government is not responsible for the cost of living " (p. 21). We doubt if moderns will enjoy the disentangling of the definitions of the terms in these sentences, or be as patient with the task as old-line nineteenth century liberals.

The section on labor and unions is shot through and through with the modern socialist philosophy of classes. For example, labor is called a social and economic force which must be accorded human rights and privileges (p. 25). Aside from the incongruity of giving to a " force " the rights inherent in a human being, inalienable to him because of his divinely created nature, the choice of such a descriptive term as "force" for a man dependent on work for a wage to live and abstracting him into the nominalistic term labor, is indicative of the influence of Marxian ideology. The acceptance also of such terms as working classes is equally indicative. As we have pointed out elsewhere in our writings and essays, the question of social classes, their character, function, necessary existence and membership was not unknown to or ignored by the Spaniards of the colonial era. But they saw the question of classes in a much truer light and on a broader basis.

Much else might be noted of the principles of this report from the standpoint of Catholic cultural theory, but not directly pertinent to this essay, except for the single point of illustrating the nature of the obstacles which those working today to form a Catholic society must understand and overcome. These obstacles, and they can all be summed up under the heading of philosophy of a socialist society, are the modern obstacles and Venezuela cannot escape them. It is not at all clear, of course, that these obstacles will defeat the creation of a Catholic culture in any country where there are Catholics who labor at it and pray for it.

As for Venezuela, it is not even stated that this report is the program of Venezuelan Catholics. Their cultural program as Catholics, is the program of Catholic Action officially directed by the pope and hierarchy. Their leaders are engaged in the task of awakening the Catholic conscience of their people, of intellectually developing leaders who will be able to analyze Venezuelan problems and who eventually will solve them upon that old Catholic and old Venezuelan tradition so well said by their great Bolívar: "La unión del incensario con la espada de la Rey es la verdadera arca de la alianza".

The task may be difficult and to a foreigner may seem to move with slowness, but we Catholics of the United States who are poorer than they because we lack the great Catholic social traditions of the Venezuelans and their heroic struggle for the preservation of their Catholic ideal, may watch them with hope and with joy. May they labor in the light of that old wisdom of Ivo of Chartres, who for a barbarian age much like our own, taught his people: "Cum regnum et sacerdotium inter se conveniunt bene regitur mundus, floret et fructificat ecclesia".

MARIE R. MADDEN

MISCELLANY

I

The Liber Floridus

When Lambert of St. Omer completed his *Liber Floridus* in 1120, he wrote a preface which, though it echoes the rhetorical phrases of many others who followed Suetonius' example and grazed in the flowery fields of miscellany, still shows his sincere conviction that his work would meet a genuine need, and redound to the glory of God and St. Omer:

> . . . Cum igitur, diversis temporibus, diversis in libris, sanctorum patrum curiosa manus operum ejus magnificentiam stilo fideli exaraverit, suisque posteris ad edificationem animę legenda reliquerit, nos videlicet, quorum temporibus mundus, olim sacris florens studiis, penitus exaruit, quoniam illa omnia velud tediosi et inertes relegere non possumus, saltem quedam de multis proposita fercula avidius ore cordis sumamus. Sepe nimirum contigit, cum, in convivio potentis alicujus, nobis epulantibus diversa ferculorum genera apponerentur, ut hoc propter illud animus fastidiosus refugeret et a neutro tandem recreari valeret. Cujus rei incommoditatem devitans, ego Lambertus filius Onulfi, canonicus sancti Audomari, libellum istum de diversorum auctorum floribus Deo Sanctoque Audomaro, pio patrono nostro, contexui, ut tanquam de cęlesti prato, flore diverso coadunato, fideles apiculę ad hunc confluerent saporisque cęlestis inde dulcedinem haurirent: quem, quoniam sic ratio postulat, *Floridum* intitulavi, quia et variorum librorum ornatibus floret, rerumque mirandarum narratione prepollet.[1]

How well did he succeed in his purpose? His "*libellus*" (now *MS Gandensis 92*) makes a bulky bouquet of 287 large folios, though the latter portion is lost. The work of compilation, which variations in ink and

[1] Cited from the text given by L. Delisle, 747 of his "Notice sur les *MSS* du 'Liber Floridus' composé en 1120 par Lambert, chanoine de Saint-Omer," *Notices et Extraits des MSS de la Bibliothèque Nationale,* XXXVIII, 2 (Paris, 1903), 577-791, in which he gives the complete list of contents of the original manuscript, a full description of the copies and the additional materials in them, etc. In Migne, *Patrologia Latina,* CLXIII, 1003-1031, Saint-Genois gives the list of contents, some excerpts and diagrams from the text. The brief account by M. Manitius, *Geschichte d. lat. Literatur des Mittelalters,* III (Munich, 1931), 241-244, has a résumé of the types of material included in the miscellany and a list of the authors cited. Other printed accounts of the *Liber Floridus* add nothing significant to the material given in these three.

handwriting indicate must have covered a considerable period, resulted in one of the cherished treasures of Flemish scholarship. Its well-worn pages show evidence of careful study. Indeed, many of the marginal notes inserted by Lambert himself and by others have been made illegible by the friction of the readers' hands.

In the latter part of the thirteenth century the manuscript had become one of the treasures of St. Bavon at Ghent, where Johannes de Thilrode wrote of it as *liber noster Floridus*. The extant copies are surprisingly numerous for a compilation of such size, and reproduce, with variations, its full equipment of miniatures, maps and diagrams, while the textual material added is in line with the general plan and interests shown in the original.

The scribe who used a copy of Lambert's text as the basis for *MS Guelferbytanus Gudianus 1*, in the thirteenth century, attempted without much success to rearrange its contents in a more logical order. Three later copies were based on his recension; that in the Durazzo collection at Genoa, written in the fourteenth century, the beautiful manuscript in the Musée Condé at Chantilly (*MS 1596*), written in the middle of the fifteenth century at the behest of the abbot of St. Peter at Ghent, and that in the Royal Library at the Hague (*MS Y 392*), written in 1460 in the diocese of Cambrai for Philip of Cleves, duke of Burgundy and count of Flanders. From the latter manuscript a literal French translation (*Hague Y 407*) was made at Enghien in 1512, also at the order of the count of Flanders. Another thirteenth century manuscript, *Paris B. N. Lat. 8865*, written at the Chartreuse de Montdieu in the diocese of Rheims, has a considerable number of historical additions from the *Gesta Episcoporum Cameracensium*. *Vossianus Lat. 31 F*, at Leyden, written at the close of the thirteenth century, also has additions, some of them identical with those in the *Gudianus*. Its special value for us lies in the preservation of some of the marginal notes which are now illegible in Lambert's original manuscript, and of some lost sections of his compilation. It is also notable as having belonged to the great library of Alexandre Petau. A later Paris manuscript of the *Liber Floridus* (*B. N. Lat. 9675*) was written in 1429 by Stephen of Cleves, and belonged to the library of the dukes of Boulogne. Like the Douai manuscript (*796*) which was written some time after 1447, it contains additional materials on the ecclesiastical history of Flanders and northern France, and carries one of the chronologies down to 1321, with special reference to the monastery of St. Bavon at Ghent.[2]

[2] On the manuscripts in general see L. Delisle, *op. cit.*, 581-609. Delisle's reconstruction assumes at least two lost exemplars, one for the *Gudianus* and Leyden *MSS*, the other for the Douai *MS* and *Paris 9675*. This makes a total of at least ten copies made in the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries, in addition to the French translation.

Clearly, then, from the twelfth century to the fifteenth, the *Liber Floridus* was considered worthy not only to be studied, but to be copied in full, and supplemented by additions in keeping with its original plan, additions which, like the interest of the counts and the bishop, show its usefulness to later Flemish readers. It is with some surprise, therefore, that one reads Delisle's estimate of the work: "Le *Liber Floridus* est une compilation tout à fait désordonné, dans laquelle un chanoine de Saint-Omer, nommé Lambert, a fait entrer des morceaux de genres très divers, que le hasard de ses lectures lui faisait remarquer." Somewhat later in his discussion, Delisle refers to it as "une compilation assez bizarre et mal ordonnée," but still deserving of study because of its fixed date, its illustrations, the preservation of the compiler's autograph copy, and its celebrity in its own day.[3]

In spite of Lambert's conventional lament over the decline of learning, a lament which was fully justified in many of the older monastic centers, and which might lead us to expect a low standard of criticism among his contemporaries, his section of French Flanders was one of the districts which participated most fully in the early stages of the renaissance of the twelfth century. It is difficult, therefore, to believe that a canon of St. Omer would have expended the time, labor and parchment required for this large volume without a definite purpose in view, or that the work would have attained such popularity if it had not been of substantial value. Neither Lambert's circle at St. Omer and the neighboring bishopries, nor the later Flemish notables who had the *Liber Floridus* copied for their use, were lacking in scholarship and critical judgment. A few illustrations of the intellectual activity of the district may serve to indicate the type of interests and criticism which a task as considerable as Lambert's would have aroused, especially while he was seeking texts for his *libellus* to supplement those of the cathedral library.

The neighboring monastery of St. Bertin could offer considerable help. He drew from its great historical collection (now *MS St. Omer 706*) extracts from the *Lorsch Annals*, Gregory of Tours, the *Gesta Danorum* and the *Annals of St. Bertin*. Lambert, abbot of St. Bertin from 1095 to 1129, to whom the *Liber Floridus* was formerly ascribed, was a man of wide learning, but with rather different interests from those of Lambert the canon. Had he compiled a miscellany, the two works together would have afforded a liberal education indeed. For, according to a later historian of St. Bertin:

> Lambertus hujus loci abbas quadragesimus, ab infantia hic regulariter educatus, per auditoria Gallicana ad litterarum studia destinatus est, indeque rediens, magister puerorum effectus, istis grammaticam, illis philosophiam, aliis theologiam, quibus etiam docebat musicam, populumque frequenter sua praedicatione verbi potens illustrabat . . . electus est in

[3] *Op. cit.*, 577, 579-580.

> abbatem . . . anno Domini MXCV, quem tanta mentis industria, tanta in agendis subsecuta est efficacia, ut nihil in propriis aut alienis, nihil in regularibus vel ecclesiasticis, militaribus seu popularibus negotiis, in laicorum palatiis seu clericorum synodis tam inextricabile foret, quod suo facile non expedivit judicio. Hinc factum est, ut hoc monasterium et alia plura per ejus solertiam in spiritualibus et temporalibus ad melius immutata proficerent, multa enim praedecessorum suorum incuria deprivata, per eum sint ad melius reformata.[4]

We have additional testimony to the abbot's literary interests in his exchange of poems with Reginald of Canterbury.[5]

Another contemporary, Petrus Pictor, also a canon of St. Omer, gained a wide reputation by the verses which he wrote at night, after his daytime task of painting was done. His poems are preserved in numerous manuscripts, including *MSS 115* and *710* of St. Omer, and several of them, the *Versus de denario, De excidio imperii Romani, De mala muliere, De egestate et fame* and *De inopia mentis et fame*, are included in the *Liber Floridus*. Among those which Lambert did not insert in his book, three must have been of special interest to him: *Domnus tecum*, a satire on that decay of learning which Lambert lamented in his preface, and which had gone so far, Peter said, that it was better to know *nummos bonos* than *artes bonas*; *Cur ultra studeam?*, a more personal satire on the same theme; and, in a very different vein, *De laude Flandriae*. In this fine panegyric we can trace some of the reasons for the wide range of historical interests in the *Liber Floridus*, compiled as it was when the international connections of the counts of Flanders were so varied and significant.[6] Peter's poems have a prominent place in the numerous anthologies compiled at this period, among which those of St. Omer and of Tournai show how prominently this district figured in the exchange of literary treasures. To quote a recent study of the subject:

> Cet ensemble de faits permet de conclure que, par suite d'un engouement subit pour la litterature poétique dans les foyers de culture de la Flandre française, on a rassemblé une foule de pièces disparates dont les receuils ont été l'objet de prêts ou d'échanges entre les principales fondations religieuses de la region où ils ont subi tantôt des additions, tantôt des suppressions, selon les gouts personnels de ceux qui les transcrivaient, ou pour qui ce travail s'accomplissait.[7]

[4] *Johannis Iperii Chronicon S. Bertini*, cap. xl, 1, in Martène et Durand, *Thesaurus Novus Anecdotorum*, III (Paris, 1717), 592-593.

[5] Manitius, *op. cit.*, 243.

[6] For the text of *De laude Flandriae* see Wattenbach, *Neues Archiv*, XVIII (1893), 509-510. For a recent survey of Petrus' poems, with bibliography, see F. J. E. Raby, *History of Secular Latin Poetry*, II (Oxford, 1934), 26-30.

[7] Boutemy, "Analyse d'une Anthologie poètique," *Revue Belge*, XVII, 2 (1938), 745-746; a prospectus of a fuller study of the movement with special

reference to the Tournai anthology. *MS Remensis 1043.743* of the late thirteenth century, as described by Wattenbach, *Neues Archiv*, XVIII (1893), 493-526, is a later example of this type, which contains much of Petrus Pictor's work.

Under such circumstances the compiler of the *Liber Floridus* could count on drawing his materials from a fairly wide radius, and on finding sympathetic and intelligent assistance and criticism. While his compilation contained comparatively little poetry, and none of any importance except the poems of Petrus Pictor, many of the poems which were copied in various anthologies touched on the subjects with which he was most concerned. The prominence of Flemings in the Norman conquest and administration of England, in the first crusade and in many other enterprises at home and abroad during the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, lent a special interest to many phases of history. The *Liber Floridus* was well planned as an encyclopedic reference work for the historian and for students of sacred and secular history, and most of its apparently miscellaneous contents can be shown to serve this end directly. Before we discuss Lambert's choice of materials, however, the reasons for the lack of orderly arrangement of his book must be considered. For the chaotic disorder of its contents is one reason for the disparaging criticism of the *Liber Floridus* by Delisle and others.

It is always difficult for twentieth century students, brought up on filing systems, card catalogues and alphabetically arranged works of reference, and accustomed to a prodigal waste of scratch paper as the inevitable preliminary to any scholarly or literary production, to put themselves in the place of a man who had no writing materials except small wax tablets, of little use for such a compilation as this, and costly parchment, of which there was never an adequate supply at a center where the demand was as great as in Flanders. Though Flanders was the chief wool market of the world, the wool merchants required that the sheep be sheared, not flayed. And we must assume that much of Lambert's material, in spite of the excellent resources of the cathedral library of St. Omer and of the Abbey of St. Bertin, had to be borrowed from other places for brief periods and would not be at hand for later consultation. The order of items was therefore determined by external circumstances rather than by logic, and in general anything which was to be included in the book must be entered on the folios at hand, without waiting for other items that would naturally be associated with it. The same necessary economy of writing materials is illustrated by the use of texts previously written on parchment of varying size and quality, which Lambert fitted into the format of his book by the procrustean device of folding the larger sheets and sewing strips of parchment onto those which were smaller than his own folios. The effect is not unlike that of the many miscellanies compiled by university students during their wander-years. Lambert

gave his readers such guidance as he could by a careful table of contents, which is of considerable value to us, since it lists items now lost from the original manuscript, some of which are preserved in later copies, and thus enables us to distinguish more certainly the notes and extracts added by later scholars. The unsuccessful attempt in the *Gudianus* copy to establish a more logical and convenient order indicates the difficulty of such a task, even when all the materials were at hand in a single volume. If, therefore, we find that the majority of the contents of the *Liber Floridus* fit into a coherent scheme, with some degree of unity, we should not permit the lack of logical arrangement to prejudice our estimate of Lambert's work. This is the more important since the chief reasons that Delisle gives for considering the book worthy of some consideration are not those which would have appealed to its mediaeval readers.

The character of the *Liber Floridus* as a work of reference rather than a book for the general reader is at once apparent when we note the number of chronological lists included in it. These usually follow the conventional outline of the Six Ages of the world; in general they begin with the creation and extend to the birth of Christ or to Lambert's own time. The chief sources are Isidore, Freculphus, the continuation of Marcellinus and the *Annals of St. Bertin*. One of the most elaborate chronologies is the set of Easter tables for the period from A. D. 1 to 1295, compiled at St. Omer, in which the interlinear entries of events break off at 1119. These annals include the reigns of popes, emperors and kings, famous battles and the deaths of great men. A local item is the death of Lambert's father, Onulphus, which suggests that Lambert himself, as we might expect, served as annalist for the cathedral chapter of St. Omer.[8] Several diagrams, *spera mundi microcosmos, spera principum per etates regnantium*, etc., accompany these chronologies. Apparently Lambert was trying to give his readers a full selection of such materials as they might need for various purposes—a chronological thesaurus rather than a single carefully edited and inclusive chronology.

A related category is that of genealogies, several of which trace the descent from Adam or Priam of the Frankish and French kings and the counts of Flanders. Genealogies of the counts of Blois and of Normandy are also included, as well as those of the Hebrew and Persian kings, of Christ, and of emperors and popes. Lambert added the genealogy of his mother's family. Genealogical trees are sketched to accompany a table of the prohibited degrees of relationship and a treatise *De consanguinitatum gradibus*. One of the more substantial genealogies of the Frankish kings traces their ancestry back to Scania. A genealogy of the French kings and the counts of Flanders, written about 1120, which traces their Trojan descent in detail, was added to the manuscript after its completion, and some of the later copies have added even more genealogical

[8] The text of these annals is published in *MGH SS* V, 65.

matter, chiefly of local interest. This insistence on the Trojan ancestry of mediaeval kings and counts, so characteristic of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, accounts for the inclusion in the *Liber Floridus* of Dares Phrygius, *De bello Trojano*, in the version ascribed here, as usual, to "Cornelius Salustius." The Trojan War had virtually become an episode in earlier Frankish history.

Aside from chronologies and genealogies there is comparatively little Old Testament history in the *Liber Floridus*. There are some excerpts from Freculphus, Josephus, Hegesippus, Jerome, and Isidore, which show Lambert's interest in items about Solomon, the Maccabaean period, and Herod. A note on the destruction of Jersualem by Titus was pertinent in view of the recent capture of Jerusalem by the crusaders. Several entries deal with the birth, life, and miracles of Christ; the *carmen Sibylle de Christo* is included, with other verses on the nativity. The fictitious correspondence of Christ with Abgar of Edessa [9] had a timely interest now that Edessa had become a Christian principality. Its inclusion may, however, be explained by the fascination which the problem of conversion had for so many of Lambert's contemporaries. In addition to the correspondence of Abgar, Lambert gives several of the popular dialogues between a Christian and a Jew; one from Isidore is accompanied by a miniature of the Synagogue Defeated and the Church Triumphant. Odo's dialogue on this theme is also included, and the popular *Disputatio* by Gislebert Crispin which was recently discussed in *Speculum*.[10]

Considering the precedent set by Lambert's greater contemporary, Otto of Freising, we may also classify in the historical category the letter of Methodius on Antichrist, his prophecies of the latter ages of the world, and passages from Jerome and Augustine on the last judgment.

Church history between the first and second comings of Christ is scantily represented, aside from the events in the chronological tables. There are excerpts on the basilicas built by Constantine and on his grant to Pope Silvester, the letters of Jerome and Damasus, lists of the popes, a list of bishoprics taken from Gregory of Tours, and the *Gesta Pontificum* to the time of Calixtus I. The *Martyrology of Usuard* naturally includes a considerable amount of pertinent Flemish material. An excerpt from Orosius on the origins of Rome is followed by Roman annals, and a miniature of the church of Rome with St. Peter. Extracts from the *Mirabilia mundi*, beginning with Rome, and from the *Mirabilia Rome* are characteristic of the twelfth century version of Roman archaeology. Contemporary interest in papal problems is reflected in a circumstantial and well-documented account of the controversy of Henry IV and Paschal II during the period from 1111 to 1115.

[9] Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, I, xiii, 1-22.

[10] M. Schlauch, "The Allegory of Church and Synagogue," *Speculum*, XIV (1939), 457-458.

Secular history, aside from the genealogies and chronologies, begins with excerpts from Freculphus on Roman history from Romulus to Julius Caesar. Caesar's *Commentaries* are used for the Roman conquest of Gaul. The account of the Roman emperors, with a continuation to Henry IV (ending in 1118), is based on Orosius, Marcellinus and later sources. A prophetic vision in which Charles the Bald was warned of the misfortunes of his reign is accompanied by a miniature of the emperor. Petrus Pictor's poem *De excidio Romani imperii* furnished a fitting commentary on this section of the work.

Extracts from Jordanes on the origins of the Goths, and from the *Gesta Danorum, Gothorum et Hunnorum*, with an account of the invasions of the Northmen and the omens and miracles that heralded the disasters they brought, from the *Annals of St. Bertin*, mark the natural interest of a Flemish annalist in the invasions of western Europe.

In Lambert's own manuscript there is little material on French history aside from that in the chronologies and genealogies already mentioned. There are, however, lists of Merovingian cities and provinces, and a passage *De provinciarum divisione Francorum*, as of 871, which gives the names of some Flemish cities. The copy of the *Liber Floridus* in *Paris B. N. Lat. 8865* has fuller material on the French kings, with an extract from Einhard's *Vita Karoli Magni*, and other accounts of Charlemagne, including a table to indicate the descent from him of the counts of Flanders. Flanders, as we have seen, has a prominent place in the *Martyrology of Usuard*, in the *Annals of St. Omer*, and in the accounts of the Norse raids. There are several documents of the reign of Robert le Frison, and lists of the bishops and archbishops of various Flemish cities and of neighboring German bishoprics.

In addition to the local items in the *Annals* and the *Martyrology*, Lambert has recorded the experience of his own church during the invasions of the Northmen, when the relics of other Flemish churches were brought there for safe-keeping. A note on the visit of a cardinal to St. Omer on his way to England reminds us of the opportunities that the canons of this cathedral had for contacts with the outer world. The patron saint is given full honor, with accounts of his life in prose and verse, the miracles wrought after his death, the liturgy and hymn for his festival, and miniatures of the saint himself, his shrine and the church. Other items of local interest, aside from the poems of the canon Petrus Pictor, include lists of the prévôts of the city and the abbots of St. Bertin, with notes on the history of the monastery to 1117 and a miniature of the castle of St. Omer. The last local entry is an account of an attack on the town in 1120, but later copies add the death of Charles, *marchio totius Flandriae*, in 1117, and his burial at St. Bertin.

Considering the testimony of William of Malmesbury and Wace to the help that Baldwin gave William the Conqueror in his conquest and

settlement of England, and the continued interest of the Flemings in the acquisition of English land during the next generation,[11] it is not surprising that Lambert excerpted from Bede, Nennius and other accounts of actual and legendary British history lists of the chief cities of England, a list of the kings of England to the sons of William the Conqueror, and the vision which inspired an English king to make a pilgrimage to Rome in 809. Among the *res mirandae* which Lambert promised in his preface, we find, in addition to the *Mirabilia Rome* mentioned above, a treatise *De mirandis Britannie insule* based on Nennius, which includes an account of Arthur, as well as of the natural curiosities of the island.

The prominence of the Flemish contingent in the first crusade led to the inclusion of a number of crusade items in the *Annals of St. Omer* and other chronicles which Lambert excerpted. Among these are accounts of the capture of Jerusalem and of the visit of Boemund, *dux Antiochie*, to St. Omer in 1196, and a list of the Christian bishops of Jerusalem. There is also an abbreviation of the *Gesta Francorum* of Fulcher of Chartres, which ends with the discovery of the holy lance at Antioch, and is closely parallel to the text given in *St. Omer 776*. As we have seen, the inclusion of the account of Titus' capture of Jerusalem and of the correspondence of Christ and Abgar may well have been due to the interest in the Holy Land inspired by the first crusade. The association of the reign of Antichrist with Jerusalem suggests a link between the citations from Methodius and the crusade items. The general interest in the orient awakened by the eastern pilgrimages and crusades may also account for the inclusion of an anecdote from Gregory of Tours about a just man who was spared in an earlier siege of Antioch, and for the fine text of the *Historia Apollonii regis Tyri*,[12] which, popular though it was, would otherwise seem rather alien to the general character of this collection.

A similar interest in the farther east may have led to the inclusion of several popular items from the Alexander cycle; the letter of Alexander to Aristotle on the wonders of India, the correspondence of Alexander and Dindimus, and some notes on the Nectanebus legend and on Alexander's life and reign.

A considerable part of the *Liber Floridus* is given over to maps of the world, diagrams of the zodiac and of the courses of the sun and moon, excerpts from Bede, Macrobius, Martianus Capella and others on

[11] See R. H. George, "The Contribution of Flanders to the Conquest of England," *Revue Belge*, V (1926), 81-99.

[12] M. Delbouille, "La Version de l'*Historia Apollonii regis Tyri* conservé dans le *Liber Floridus* du chanoine Lambert," *Revue Belge*, VIII, 2 (1929), 1195-1199, considers this version, which has not been used in modern editions, the best representative of its group. It is uncertain whether Lambert edited the text, or merely copied it from an older manuscript.

geography, astronomy and astrology, reckonings of time and divers other materials useful for the *computus* and for a better understanding of universal and local history, as interpreted by the ecclesiastical historians of the Middle Ages. The great Anglo-Saxon compilation of astronomical and computistic materials was freely used, and Macrobius' *Commentary on Scipio's Dream* provided a number of diagrams. Here again Lambert has sown with a full hand, as if seeking to give his readers the benefit of all the treatises that he himself had found useful, regardless of the repetition involved.

The greater part of the compilation thus suited the needs of the ecclesiastical chronicler and the intelligent student of world and local history, sacred and secular, as they were generally understood from the time of Bede to that of Lambert. For the rest, various excerpts of virtues and vices, on miracles, on the feasts and fasts of the Church, on the Creed and the Ten Commandments, *flores* from Saint Anselm on free will and predestination, lists of books to be read in the churches, prefaces for the mass, lessons and epistles for the church year, and sundry ethical and theological extracts had their obvious uses, though not of direct service to the historian.

The liberal arts in general were left for other compilers. There are lists of names, terms and titles in Greek, Latin and Hebrew, a few of the usual extracts on natural (and unnatural) history from Martianus Capella, Augustine and others, and on weights and measures from Isidore, some notes on pagan philosophy and idols, and the ever-popular *Dicta VII Sapientium*. There are also a few of those practical items which found their way into every mediaeval collection; in this case some medicinal recipes with dietary instructions, a method for tempering iron, and a note on the proper time for felling trees. But the bulk of sheer miscellany is too small in comparison with that of the selections which a Flemish chronicler of Lambert's time would find profitable and necessary for his studies to justify Delisle's estimate of the whole as a bizarre compilation. It may not be inappropriate to suggest that if the major items of the *Liber Floridus* were listed in logical order in a twelfth century catalogue of manuscripts we should conclude that the library to which they belonged afforded unusually good tools for the cathedral chronicler, though we should also hope that he would not fail to refresh his mind and improve his style by reading *in extenso* the actual histories which are here represented only by brief excerpts. The skeletal material is here, albeit disarticulated and sadly disarranged, but there is very little of the flesh and spirit of history. Lambert has given us no means of judging how far he might have provided these had it suited the purpose of his work to do so.

EVA MATTHEWS SANFORD

II

The Dominican Order and Parliament

An unsolved Problem in the History of Representation

During the thirteenth century over approximately the same space of years representation, as a principle of government,[1] was adopted by the Dominican Order and by the English parliament. St. Dominic drew up the preliminary organization of his Order in 1216, an Order based initially on the rule of St. Augustine, and in the same year he secured papal approval. In 1220 the first Chapter General meeting at Bologna adopted the "constitutiones" which laid down the permanent legislative and representative structure of the Order. In 1221 Prior Gilbert of Fresney brought a colony of Dominicans to Oxford. Five years later Stephen Langton, archbishop of Canterbury, a good friend and patron of the Oxford friars, applied the representative principle to the convocations of the English Church. By 1273 Robert Kilwardby, the Dominican archbishop of Canterbury, was extending this same principle by calling up proctors from each diocese to convocation.

Simultaneously the representative principle conceived nationally * was appearing in the King's Council or parliament. King John issued a writ in 1213 summoning four knights from every shire to appear at a great council to discuss "the affairs of our kingdom." So far as we know, this parliament never met. In 1254 Henry III called up four knights of the shire from all over the realm and these county delegates actually did meet to discuss granting money to the king. Another writ in 1261 called up the knights again, this time to discuss "the common affairs of our realm." In 1265 Simon de Montfort held his own parliament at London and called up, now for the first time, both knights of the shire and burgesses from the towns.[2] The practice was probably continued more or less regularly after de Montfort's parliament, for Edward I's writ summoning knights and burgesses in 1275 makes it clear that he was following precedents.

Put side by side in this way these events in the Dominican Order and in parliament easily set us wondering. What connection, if any, is there between the two series of happenings? Did parliament introduce national

[1] Some historians take representation to mean representative government in the sense that a representative body *controls* administration and policy. A wider definition is used in this paper, that is, that representation exists wherever delegates *either* deliberate or control as the voice of the general will.

* Representation in a limited sense existed in the feudal "great councils" of the English kings from a very early time. Whenever a lord spoke for his vassals there was a kind of representation implied.

[2] Stubbs, *Select Charters* (1913), 404.

representatives after the example of the Dominicans? Did both parliament and the Dominicans take the principle from a common source? The third possibility—that the Dominicans copied parliament—we can count out. If the first national representatives did not sit in parliament until 1254, it is clear that their example could not have influenced an organization practically complete in 1220.

The problems involved in giving a clear, full answer to these questions are far from being simple. Expert scholars disagree.[3] Some of the essential sources have hardly been touched. Not a single whole volume has yet been written on the subject. For these reasons I can do little more than discuss the subject in terms of its sources, the general historical background, and an accurate understanding of the problems that lie behind the question: what is the connection between the Dominicans and parliament? My task must be to describe what the student must do, not to set down incomplete investigations.

I

THE AVAILABLE SOURCES

The literature of as distinguished from the literature about the Dominican Order in its early years is scant. We know still less about the doings of the English province. There is to my knowledge only one brief record extant out of all the "acta" of the English provincial chapter.[4] It is only very recently that a careful bibliography has been drawn up for the Constitution of the Friars Preachers, and any interested student ought to begin there. I refer to the list given in G. R. Galbraith's *Constitution of the Dominican Order* (Manchester, 1925, xiii-xvi). Some of the titles to be found in this list are especially important as illustrating the theory and practice of representation in the Order.

There are three kinds of contemporary works by Dominicans of this period: the "constitutiones" or decrees of organization, the "acta" or decisions of the chapters, and a number of more or less contemporary chronicles, early histories of the Order, diplomatic papers and official

[3] I believe Professor Ernest Barker (*the Dominican Order and Convocation*) first suggested the connection between the Dominicans and parliament. That was in 1913. Pasquet and George Burton Adams have denied the connection altogether. E. M. Sait (*Political Institutions: A Preface*, 1938, Chap. 4) gives the most recent and the most acute analysis of the problems involved. He admits the connection but argues that it is due to common descent, not to imitation by parliament of the Dominicans. I am greatly indebted to his essay and am fairly well persuaded of his central point, but I disagree with some of his other judgments, particularly with the small amount of political influence he is willing to allow the Dominicans.

[4] A record embedded in the Master-Generals' Register of a chapter held at Lincoln in 1388. The text is given in B. E. R. Formoy, *The Dominican Order in England Before the Reformation*, 1925, pp. 136-7.

instructions. The "constitutiones," which come down to us in four versions, contain an important description of the elective procedure used in the chapters (Sec. VIII, "De capitulo generali," and sec. X, "De capitulo generalissimo," as printed in Galbraith, Appendix II, from the version of 1358).[5] Monsignor C. Douais has edited the *Acta Capitulorum Provincialium* covering the years 1239 to 1302 (Toulouse, 1894), but these include not a scrap for England. However, at the beginning of the fourteenth century Bernard Gui, a friar of Provence, collected all the "acta" for his own province that he could lay hands on. If (as Sait thinks) Provençal customs influenced Simon de Montfort, these records of the Provençal chapters may prove important. The various Dominican chronicles and histories are not usually very useful for details of organization, but one of them, Nicholas Trivet's *Annales* (English Historical Society, 1845), presents a reliable account of the coming of the Dominicans to England.

The more important constitutional documents setting forth the gradual appearance of the knights and burgesses in parliament are to be found in the original in the Public Record Office (the Rolls Series). Practically all the relevant ones—the writs of 1213, 1254, 1261, 1264 and 1265, the "Provisions of Oxford," etc., can be consulted either in Bishop Stubbs, *Select Charters* (1913), in the Latin text, or in Stephenson and Marcham, *Sources of English Constitutional History* (1937), in the English translation.

A few private chroniclers of this period give us interesting if not always reliable portraits of such central figures as Stephen Langton, Simon de Montfort, Friar John of Darlington. These portraits occur especially in the *Chronica Majora* of Matthew Paris, a Benedictine, who always takes the king's side and is rather hostile to the Dominicans, in the *Monumenta Franciscana* of Adam of Marsh, a Franciscan admirer of de Montfort, and in the *Burton Annals*, a valuable narrative of political and constitutional happenings during the war between Henry III and his chief minister. W. H. Hutton has printed a convenient selection of these chronicles under the title *Simon de Montfort and His Cause* (London, 1888).[6]

[5] The procedure followed by the English provincial chapter was presumably Sec. VII, "De capitulo provinciali."

[6] Father M. H. Laurent has recently edited a collection of early Dominican diplomatic papers peculiarly valuable for the light they throw on the connection of the elder de Montfort with St. Dominic. These include several bills of sale in which de Montfort hands over property to the monastery of Prouille. They constitute the first part of Tomus XV of the Standard *Monumenta Ordinis F. Praedicatorum Historica*, Paris, 1933.

II

DOMINICAN ORGANIZATION IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

In a letter dated November 17, 1205, Innocent III gratified his friend, Dominic of Osma, by creating the Apostolic Friars, a fraternity composed of the religious whom St. Dominic had gathered round him. This was to be a type of preachers patterned after the Gospels. In the same year St. Dominic founded the monastery of Prouille, Toulouse, which was to follow the Rule of St. Augustine. He gave them his own "Institutions" as a guide for the spiritual and temporal administration of the individual convent. The Order of Friars Preachers with its rule and Dominic's "Consuetudines" was formally approved in 1216 by a papal bull. These "Consuetudines" of 1216 regulated the ascetic and canonical life of the new order. The "Constitutiones" of 1220, drawn up at the first general chapter in Bologna, regulated the political organization of the Order, laying down (as Mandonnet says) "the essential and original basis of Dominican legislation."

The Order was to be governed under its Constitution by the general chapter, meeting annually, and the master-general, elected by the provincial priors and two brothers from each province. His term in the thirteenth century and throughout the Middle Ages was for life.[7] The master general was and is the chief administrator. From his residence in Rome he visited the provinces, saw to it that the laws of the Order were observed, corrected abuses. The general chapter was the supreme legislative authority. It made new laws ("constitutiones"), discussed any current legislative or disciplinary business. It corrected the master-general and had the power to depose him under certain circumstances.

"Our Order," says the Constitution, "was instituted principally for preaching and the salvation of souls." (Version of 1228). This motivating principle was carried out in the whole frame of the Order, showing itself especially in the provision of a doctor of theology to lecture in every convent, in the sending of preachers on tour and in the exemption of the friars from manual labor.

The structure of the Order rested on the convent as on a cell and rose up through the province to the Order, that is, to the provinces collectively considered. The prior, chosen by the brothers, was governor of the convent but he was obliged to consult the conventual chapter in most important matters. The province was ruled by the provincial prior and the provincial chapter, acting respectively as administrator and law-maker. In this intermediate chapter sat the provincial, the priors, a delegate from each convent and the "general preachers." Four members were regularly chosen to act as a committee for preparing legislation and discussion. The

[7] In 1804 Pius VII cut the master-general's term to 6 years. In 1862 Pius IX established the present term of 12 years.

general chapter, a kind of supreme congress, met annually, being composed every two successive years of "definitores" or delegates (one from each province) and in the third year of provincial priors. A generalissimo chapter met twice in the history of the Order, both times in the thirteenth century.[8] It seems to have been provided for in the "Constitutiones" as a quick method for getting laws passed. To become a law an "actum" had ordinarily to be passed by three successive general chapters. The generalissimo chapter, it can be seen, was really three general chapters meeting in one, for it is made up of *two* delegates from each province *and* all the provincials.

The main features of this structure were by no means all new, but the governing principle that informed them was quite new. As Dr. Galbraith has shown, the Dominican "constitutiones" of 1220 owed much to Prémontré. Like the Premonstratensians the Friar Preachers were to be Canons Regular. They were to be divided into provinces with provincial chapters and to be subject to an abbot-general. But St. Dominic remodeled both the province and the provincial chapter, making them units of government and not units of visitation merely. The master-general became a powerful administrator, not just a glorified visitor from the mother-house, but at the same time he was made responsible to the general chapter. The provincial priors and the priors, once elected, did not become autocrats but were also held responsible to their constituents. The chapters, not the officers, ruled. The change was even evident in the outward bearing of these new friars. They did not bow and prostrate themselves, the regular habit of the monks and of the Premonstratensians as well, but stood ever erect. St. Dominic had intended and seen to it that his Order should be ruled by its representatives. Here was a new principle, indeed.

III

THE ORGANIZATION OF PARLIAMENT IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

The principle of representation, as it was appearing during these same years in the central government of England, was also a new thing. Yet it was not new in the sense that we are often assured of in the popular accounts. Many if not most historians who have written about the beginnings of representation in England describe these beginnings as if England was the *original* source of representative government. They are so impressed by the persistent growth of the House of Commons, by its survival coincident with the decline and disappearance of the continental cortes and états-généreaux, and by the current general acceptance of Parliament as the "mother of parliaments," that they forget altogether the Greek and Roman republics and the eleventh and twelfth century assemblies in Spain and Southern France.

[8] In 1228 and 1236.

According to this orthodox, English view the beginnings of representation are to be found in the jury system practiced in the country courts all over mediaeval England. The Normans, borrowing from the Franks, brought the jury in its earliest form to England at the Conquest. Sworn men were required to appear in the county court to answer as to the value of property, its owner and the rights of the king. When the king's travelling judges rode into this court they met there feudal freeholders, twelve burgesses from each borough or city, and a bailiff and four men from every village. The information asked of these juries gradually widened from questions about property to assessments for taxes and complaints against the sheriffs.

This English view has it that the change from the jury system to national representation in Parliament took place quite naturally and without attracting much attention. The king's travelling judges sometimes gave judgments which were refused by the county court. Such a court would then by order of the king send up four of its members to carry the judgment to the King's Court and there defend or attack it. Judicial committees of this kind went up to Westminster several times under Henry II, but ordinarily from one shire at a time. In 1226, however, four knights from eight counties met at Lincoln to hear complaints against their sheriffs. 1254 is usually hailed as a landmark in the development of representation, for in that year Henry III for the first time called up elected knights of the shire to a council[9] for discussing non-judicial business. He wanted money in the form of an aid. The next major date is 1265 when Simon de Montfort summoned both knights and burgesses to his own great council.

E. M. Sait goes to much trouble to show where the English version of the rise of representation omits important facts (*Political Institutions*, Chap. 4). Simon de Montfort, it is true, summoned knights and burgesses for the first time in England in 1265, but there is strong evidence for believing that he had already done the same thing in Gascony where he was governor from 1246 to 1252.[10] At any rate he was familiar with this kind of representation long before the great council of 1265. The "natural transition" from the judicial committees who went up to the King's Court

[9] The term "parliament" in the modern sense of estates first occurs in official usage in the preamble to the First Statute of Westminster, 1275. Previously "colloquium" was generally used for an assembly of magnates (such as this one) and "parliamentum" for a meeting of the King's Court (a purely judicial body).

[10] *Cf.* Wentworth Webster, *Les Loisirs d'un étranger au pays Basque*, 1901, Chap. 4. Sait depends heavily upon this important book for his own theory of "diffusion." It was privately printed but can be found in the Bodleian Library. Webster, an English clergyman who wrote in French, is author of a number of other Gascon studies.

in the early thirteenth century to the delegation of knights who discussed the royal money grant at the council of 1254 is actually pretty abrupt. The early committees who carried the county court records to Westminster never, so far as we know, had authority to deal with anything but judicial matter. Some other influence must have been added to make the king and his regents suddenly decide to let the Commoners talk over affairs of state. The king needed more money—yes—but what precedent could be shown to justify calling up plain Commoners to join with nobles and clergy? King John's writ of summons of 1213 to four knights from every shire is a still more serious obstacle to the paternal claim of the judicial committees. Where did John get the idea at a time when these committees had barely started going up to the King's Court?

IV

THE NATURE OF THE PROBLEM

The central question for the student is: what is the connection if any between the growth of representation in the Dominican Order and the almost simulanteous growth in Parliament or the King's Council? We have to remember that representation does not necessarily meant *control* by representatives. It exists wherever delegates *deliberate* or *decide* as the voice of the general will, whether it be the general will of a community, a social group or a whole nation. The thing that appears new about the Dominican Order, when we set it beside the already existing orders is the control that it allows the friars to exercise over their officers once those officers are elected. The thing that is new about the King's Council by 1275 is the acceptance of a *national* representation (*i. e.*, representation by a geographical unit instead of by feudal tenure) not indeed entitling the knights and burgesses to control the king but rather to deliberate ("ad tractandum" was the usual formula) such public matters as he presented to them. Although representation by geographical unit was not original with the Dominicans (the Canons of Prémontré practiced it) they gave the principle dramatic and vitalizing form in England. We must ask therefore whether Parliament owes anything to their example in this fundamental principle. We must also ask about the *new forms* of representation that the Dominicans introduced in this century—the use of elected committeemen to prepare legislation and discussion,[11] the requirement of three readings to make an "actum" law, etc.[12]

[11] Compare, for example, the procedure in the "Forma Regiminis" with the Dominican custom of selecting three "definitores per disquisitionem." Cf. Stubbs, *Select Charters*, 401 (9th ed.) and *Constitutiones F. Praedicatorum*, 419-420 (Paris, 1886).

[12] "Nisi per tria capitula fuerit approbatum" from text in Galbraith, *Constitution of the Dominican Order*, 244.

It may be questioned whether the word "growth" is really applicable to Dominican representation as a principle in this period. There were indeed important changes made in the "constitutiones" between 1228 and 1363, but these were for the most part changes defining and establishing on a sure basis the control of the respective chapters over the priors and the master-general.[13] The "constitutiones" of 1220 brought into the world a practically full grown theory of representation. The elective amendments that were later introduced did not alter the essential structure. In the English state, however, there was a real growth evident between the summons for a money grant in 1254 and the preamble to the First Statute of Westminster, 1275. It may appear when more work has been done on the earlier period, that 1213 would be a better date to start the growth.

The two groups of historians writing today on the origins of English representation hold respectively to the notions of parallel development and diffusion. "Parallel development" is the theory we have already considered, the English theory that the development of representation in England in the thirteenth century, which finds a parallel development on the continent, can be understood without reference to that continental development. "Diffusion" means the belief that the changes which introduced a national representation into the thirteenth century English parliaments represent a spreading of the already existing institutions of Spain, Southern France and Sicily.[14]

Professor Ernest Barker was the first important constitutional scholar to present a theory of diffusion. He saw that the advocate of diffusion would have to indicate a reasonable channel by which the representative customs of Spain and France reached England. His book, *The Dominican Order and Convocation* (1913), is an attempt to show that the Dominicans were that channel. He suggests that St. Dominic, himself a Spaniard, applied the representative principle of his people to his Order; that Stephen Langton, an important patron of the English Dominicans, applied this principle to the convocations of York and Canterbury; that the state borrowed it from the church; and that Simon de Montfort and Edward I, makers of the House of Commons, were influenced by Dominican counsellors.

Barker points to St. Dominic's background and early movements as important evidence for his thesis. St. Dominic, he reminds us, was a Canon of Osma in 1188, the probable date of the first representative "cortes" in Leon. Dominic would have been in a position to know

[13] *Cf.* C. R. Galbraith, *The Constitution of the Dominican Order*, Chap. 4, for a detailed comparison of the "constitutiones" of 1228, 1256, 1260 and 1358 and their debt to Prémontré.

[14] Frederick II established in 1232 representation in the general court of Sicily (Sait, *Political Institutions*, 497, n. 2.)

thoroughly the customs of his people during the fifteen subsequent years in Leon. In 1203 he went from Osma to Southern France where he remained for ten years. During this time he met and became friendly with the elder Simon de Montfort, governor of Languedoc. In 1212 de Montfort convened a great parliament at Pamiers, to which, as was the custom in the local assemblies, delegates came from the towns. Perhaps St. Dominic was particularly impressed by this parliament when four years later he commenced the organization of the Order of Friar Preachers on a representative basis.

In 1221, Barker goes on to say, the first Dominicans landed in England. He then traces the development that we have already surveyed: the penetration into the universities and the King's Council, the eventual dominance of the new Order in political spheres. He insists that a Dominican or a friend of the Dominicans led at every stage in the growth of national representation.

When he comes to the council of 1254 with its knights of the shire Barker can point back to the convocation of 1226. Without giving more evidence he says, "Thirty years of the rule of Henry III are bearing fruit; and even if Boniface of Savoy is archbishop, the voice of the clergy will out and representation will come." Discussing de Montfort's great council of 1265 he admits that the summoning of knights and burgesses together may mean that de Montfort was copying "the institutions of Aragon, of Sicily, and of Gascony." He would have us remember, nevertheless, that the earl's father was a friend of St. Dominic, that the earl, himself, may have been taught by the friars, and that his wife found refuge and a burial among the Canonesses of St. Dominic at Montargis.

One fact Barker is hard put to reconcile with his theory. We know that King John was acquainted with the representative principle because he issued the writ of 1213. "But," answers Barker, "the events of 1226 are surely far more important than those of 1213, and the lesson they teach is the influence of the clergy on progress in political ideas." The ingenious argument he weaves from this point on cannot break the hard fact of 1213. As Sait says, "John actually summoned knights of the shire eight years before the Dominican Order was organized,[15] eight years before the first Dominican entered England, and thirteen years before Langton summoned proctors to convocation." Pasquet, another eminent worker in this field, sees no ground for the supposed Dominican influence on de Montfort and the parliament of 1265.[16]

We have examined the problem of the Dominicans and Parliament in terms of its historical environment and in the perspective of recent critical

[15] The interval was actually seven years. Sait continually refers to 1221 as the date of the original "constitutiones" but the First General Chapter met in 1220.

[16] *Essai sur les origines de la chambre de communes*, 1914, 24.

investigations. Something must also be said of important obstacles that still face the source-hunter. It will always be necessary in pursuing this chapter in the history of representation to distinguish clear evidence of contact between the two representative systems from evidence of mere resemblance. Only the first kind can be taken as conclusive proof. Professor Barker's theory of diffusion through the Dominicans to England fails to convince principally because he is too apt to jump to conclusions when he sees that one institution looks like another and precedes that other in date. He claims, for example, that the calling up by Langton of delegates from the monasteries and lower clergy in 1226 was probably due to the fact that Langton, a patron of the Oxford house, was impressed by Dominican practice. When we know why this convocation was called, the argument is less convincing. Honorius III in that year asked for a supplementing of the papal revenue by regular allocations from the episcopal and monastic revenues, and from each collegiate church. In France and in Germany as well as in England *special assemblies* of the clergy were convened to answer the request. Langton thereupon summons delegates from those monasteries and collegiate churches which, it is proposed, will be taxed for the first time. Do we need any other reason to explain this innovation in procedure?

The source-hunter, then, needs something more than evidence of structural resemblance between the Dominican chapters, convocation, and the King's Council. The case for or against Barker's thesis will not be complete until we know more fully and more accurately the careers of the intermediaries.[17] Surprisingly little is known of the actions of the English provincials of the thirteenth century. Occasionally we catch odd bits of information about them as when Friar Trivet tells us that Langton "was so edified" by a sermon of Prior Gilbert of Fresney "that henceforward during all his episcopate he favoured and promoted the Order and its work." (*Annales*, 209). About ten years later we find Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln, sending a letter to Father Alardus, then provincial, asking for the services of a friar skilled in canon and civil law.[18]

[17] Sait, it seems to me, is wrong in rejecting altogether possible influence of the Dominicans on parliament. Granted his theory that both institutions owe the *principle* of representation to a common parent in Spain and Southern France, we must allow for the possibility that Parliament borrowed *particular forms*. The doings of middle-men such as Darlington during these years may give us the answer.

[18] *Cf.* C. R. Palmer, *Fusti Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum: the Provincials of the Friar-Preachers,* a pamphlet without publication mark located in the Harvard Library. It contains a list of the English provincials from 1221 to the Reformation with important details garnered by an expert from many fragmentary sources. Father Bede Jarrett prints a similar list, more abbreviated in detail but possibly more up to date, in his *English Dominicans* (London, 1921), so far the best general study of the Order in England.

A biography of John of Darlington (d. 1284), the Dominican Confessor of Henry III and Edward I, is badly needed. After entering the Order Darlington probably studied at Paris in the priory of St. James There he helped edit *Concordances to the Scriptures*. By 1256 when he joined Henry III's Council he was known as a scholar and a preacher. It is not known exactly when he became royal confessor but the likely date is a year or two just before or after receiving the councillorship. As a friend of Henry he used his influence to free imprisoned Jews. He was one of the 12 royal delegates who helped draw up the Provisions of Oxford in 1258. He was present when the king and the barons drew up the instrument for submitting disputes over the Provisions to Louis IX (1263). Darlington frequently represented Edward I in negotiations, especially during the talks with the popes over adjustment of papal revenues. A Dominican, situated in the King's Council and a member of the royal commission of 1258, might well be responsible for the executive committee of three first employed by that commission and used again in the "Forma Regiminis" (*cf.* 14, n. 11).[19]

Alongside the provincials and the royal confessors we must place those nobles in high places who especially patronized the new order or who for some reason were thrown into close association with its leaders. The younger Simon de Montfort has been ranked first among these nobles because he was reared in Southern France at about the time his father was acquainted with St. Dominic (Barker, 58). Biographies of de Montfort have been written by Bémont, Pauli, and Prothero but none of these indicate much more than a casual acquaintance on the part of de Montfort with the Dominicans. They do not deal adequately with the more important connection between the elder de Montfort and St. Dominic. (M. F. Laurent's recently published collection of Dominican diplomatic papers for 1219-1223 throws new light on this subject, *Monumenta Ordinis F. Praedicatorum Historica*, Paris, 1933, Tomus XV, Fasc. 1).

The source-hunter must also clear that fatal hurdle before which Barker as well as the "Old English" theorists have come to a stop. What is the explanation of King John's writ of summons of 1213? Did he learn the principle contained in that writ from Gascony where he conducted many campaigns? Was he instructed in it by one of his Latin relatives, perhaps Eleanor of Acquitaine, his mother, or Eleanor of Provence, his son's wife? It will not do to argue that the council of 1254 was the first practical case of importance until we can prove that the great council of 1213 did not meet.

HARRY P. TUNMORE

[19] Frederick Tout gives a list of the fragmentary sources with which Darlington's biographer will need to begin, Article in "Darlington" in *D. N. B.*

BOOK REVIEWS

GENERAL CHURCH HISTORY

The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages. Volumes XXX-XXXII. By LUDWIG FREIHERR VON PASTOR. (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co. 1940. Pp. xlvii, 467; xii, 519; xiv, 706. $15.00.)

It should be sufficient merely to announce that three more volumes of Pastor are out in English dress. The German original has been well received, and this translation of volume XIV is, on the whole, very satisfactory. The reputation of the author is secure. The work itself needs very little advertising, and criticism of it rarely touches vital points. The reviewer's task should be particularly easy since he has to deal with a translation of an original German text which has been in circulation some ten years. There are, of course, able critics who read little German, but their opinion will hardly carry great weight in the present instance. Nor are they likely to pick notable flaws where earlier critics have failed to find them.

This is a story of the Church in decline, of the spiritual power partially eclipsed by the rising bulk of the more aggressive state or, to change the figure, sidetracked as an unwanted antique in the affairs of a secularized Europe. The reader has an index to the contrast between the rejuvenated vigor of the sixteenth century papacy and the seemingly decrepit condition here portrayed in the fact that the story of the former fills out a volume every five years, whereas nearly twenty years of the latter can be covered in the average single volume. Yet this period, in which we have a suffering rather than a fighting Church, is no less interesting than the age of the great reforming popes. Certainly, we are nearer to the problems of the present and in closer contact with the forces which have made our modern mentality. If the popes of the earlier period were often men of greater moral stature, this is largely due to the opportunities they had for a display of energy. In the age of Philip II the popes could still hold their place near the center of the stage; in the age of Louis XIV they were doomed to play a very minor role.

The mightiest monarch in Christendom was, no doubt, a Catholic. And the popes may have found some comfort in the glory reflected from the "Byzantine" court of this "eldest son of the Church." But absolutism or, perhaps better, Caesaro-papalism touched all the dealings of Louis with the popes, whom he regarded with a scarcely concealed contempt. The

dazzling splendor of Versailles caused many a headache in Rome. Parallel with this absolutism or intertwined with it was Gallicanism in its several varieties. There was also the nuisance of Jansenism. Here were three major diseases of the time which saddened the head of the Church. Whatever else may be said of them, they provided excellent material for the researches of the historian of the Church.

All through these volumes, one is conscious that France is predominant in Europe and in the Catholic Church. One is also aware, during a brief stretch, of the sinister presence of Oliver Cromwell, while the heroic figure of John Sobieski recalls the obtuseness of Europe to the Moslem peril. For sheer human interest we should pick the unusual episode of Queen Christina. The conversion of this brilliant daughter of Gustavus Adolphus and her subsequent career, subsidized to be sure by generous popes, may or may not have an apologetic value. At least, the remarkable woman who could preside with perfect poise among soldiers and statesmen and who conversed long hours with leading scholars was convinced that Rome was still the center of the Christian world, as were also many other prominent converts.

Many will purchase these volumes because they are part of a standard work which every good library should have. Still, they might be sold on their own merits. Detached from the series, they are as good as the best literature on any topic with which they deal. It is well to insist, however, that the work of Pastor is essentially a survey and, as such, cannot be expected to offer a definitive solution for every thorny problem with which it deals. The Treaty of Westphalia, the Chinese Rites controversy or the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, as well as several other items already mentioned, can still give employment to critical students. But the general reader can always approach Pastor with confidence. One thing, at least, he does provide, a good general orientation in a confusing field. His bibliographies, moreover, and his abundant footnotes will serve as stepping-stones to further knowledge. Whenever a topic is treated by Pastor no student can afford to ignore what he has to say. Those who have not kept pace with the periodical publication of the work or who have neither the time nor the hardihood to undertake a task of this magnitude should at least have a sufficient familiarity with the table of contents to use it for rapid consultation. Pastor has given us more than a history of the popes themselves. In fact his long accounts of conclaves, papal families and the petty concerns of the papal household are, at times a bit boring. What we have here is a history of Europe to which the Vatican imports a new clarity, unity and continuity.

To the present reviewer the rather serious charge that Pastor, a scholar of top rank, was a tool of the Jesuits has always looked a bit silly. If the great historian was a life-long friend of the Society of Jesus, it would seem that he is leaning backwards in his effort not to show his friendship

here. In fact, in one of the delicate problems he had to handle, that of Father Petre at the court of James II, he clings altogether too closely to the Protestant tradition, following von Ranke perhaps. There is also the variation of the above charge to the effect that the Jesuits took over the work of the aging Pastor, thus becoming (to their own profit) the virtual authors of the most recent volumes. Fortunately, the publisher has forestalled the creative impulse of imaginative critics by stating precisely and positively just what sections (and they are negligible) are not from the pen of the author.

RAYMOND CORRIGAN

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Histoire générale de l'Église. PAR L'ABBÉ A. BOULENGER. Volume VII. *XVI^e^ et XVII^e^ siècles, 1517-1648*. Tome III. *Les Temps modernes*. Pt. I. *La Reforme Protestante*. (Lyon: Librairie catholique Emmanuel Vitte. 1938. Pp. 290. Fr. 40.)

This is one of the series of volumes dealing with the history of the Church by Abbé Boulenger. Shortly after the opening of the Vatican Archives to the scholars of the world, Leo XIII expressed the wish that "manuals are to be prepared for the use of schools, which while leaving truth intact, shall put aside all that is harmful to youth, and serve to aid the progress of historical study." (*Letter on Historical Studies*, August 18, 1883). Abbé Boulenger's work has been prepared in this spirit of historical truth. Since this is a part of a general history, it is only a comprehensive survey. A splendid outline for students who read French! The attitude, the point of view is very much the same as one will find in the scholarly work of G. Constant, *The Reformation in England*. However, the volume of Boulenger is not so detailed as that of Constant. It is far superior to the history written a long time ago by Darras, Brueck and Alzog. "It is a misfortune that for a long time past, Catholics have on the whole, written the history of the Reformation and the following epochs from an apologetic and *a priori* stand-point." (*Catholic World*, May, 1904, 150). Boulenger speaks from the documents. He has not been guilty of the sin, "that Catholics have never been at fault or that Catholic or Papal policy has never been mistaken," in the words of Peter M. Dunne, S.J. (*Ecclesiastical Review*, March, 1930). A proof of the courage which the reader will find in this work is the following: "When Henry VIII revolted against the papacy, he found practically no resistance on the part of the clergy" (p. 160). It is unfortunate that Boulenger has not developed this particular remark at greater length. Again: "Les gens de l'Église-haut et bas clergé-n'avaient plus les qualités de leur état" (p. 159).

Another thought-provoking sentence is: "John Colet would have disapproved of the schism had he lived; Erasmus took sides against Luther

and Henry VIII; More was to become a martyr for the faith. . . . Nevertheless it is true, that they prepared the way for the schism, without wishing it or without foreseeing it" (p. 162). This is a statement which may set off some discussion. What will others think of his description of "the shameful capitulation of the monks"? (p. 174). He hurdles the difficult problem of assigning a proper name to this period by calling it a *pseudo-Reforme*.

The bibliography is quite extensive with English sources in use as well as others. Protestant writers have been consulted. The index is fair and the few illustrations well chosen. This work is well worth-while translating with the purpose of using it in our colleges and universities as reading assignments for this period.

EDWARD V. CARDINAL

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AMERICAN CHURCH HISTORY

Dictionary of the American Hierarchy. By JOSEPH BERNARD CODE. (New York: Longmans, Green and Co. 1940. Pp. xxii, 425. $3.75.)

The pen of Dr. Joseph B. Code, ever busy with books, brochures, and historical articles, has brought together this *Dictionary of the American Hierarchy* in format and accuracy of content worthy of his training at Louvain, his status in the department of history at the Catholic University of America and the introduction contributed by Archbishop Amleto Giovanni Cicognani, Apostolic Delegate to the United States. Well does His Excellency insist: "A book which both sets forth an important historical record and evidences deferential regard for distinguished personages who have merited well of God and country cannot but be well received, and indeed welcomed with special acclaim." Indeed this book should be greeted as a most useful, carefully and intelligently complied and documented handbook for churchmen and students of American history at large, who would know who is who among the five hundred or more Catholic bishops who have served in the United States in these one hundred and fifty years since John Carroll was consecrated first bishop and since George Washington was inaugurated first president. Their lives, as Dr. Code's book indicates, were spent for Church and country, and their services, locations and numbers suggest not only the growth of the Catholic Church but the concurrent expansion of the country in area, numbers and diversity of races merged into a single people.

Each bishop, including the papal delegates, from Bishop Adrian of Nashville to the late Bishop Zardetti of St. Cloud, is listed alphabetically with a factual statement of his birth, parentage, education, ordination, chief ministerial locations, election, consecration, consecrator and assis-

tants, chief events of his episcopacy, death and place of burial (if as an Irishman would say he is deceased), his writings, and such separately printed biographical sketches as exist. Naturally Dr. Code has made use of information of a similar nature compiled by Clarke, Shea, Reuss, Bishop Owen Corrigan, Kirlin, O'Donnell, Hackett and writers in the *Catholic Encyclopedia* and the *Dictionary of American Biography*; but he has supplemented, checked and corrected their labors as to facts, dates, and time. The task was arduous, and the difficulties as to dates and names, especially of parents, were marked. The opportunity of error and misprint was large, but very few slips even in details will be found. Again there is a harmony and a consistency in form and in inclusion of information which is noteworthy.

An appendix carrys a list of bishops from John Carroll to Bishop Joseph Moran Corrigan whose consecration followed the golden jubilee of the Catholic University of America; a list of bishops arranged according to their deaths from Concanen in 1810 to Bishop Tihen in 1940; a list of bishops with their lineage to Walmesley if along a strictly American line of consecrators, or to some famed continental prelate, thus tracing their apostolic succession; a list of titular sees of American bishops; lists of foreign-born bishops under the various countries of origin; lists of bishops who were named from religious orders or societies; a list of sees followed by all the occupants of each see; a list of four archbishops and eight bishops who were converts to the faith; a list of seven American cardinals together with eight other cardinals whose careers were closely associated with the United States; a list of apostolic delegates; and a list of pontiffs covering the American period.

For bishops of foreign birth, the dates of their arrival in the United States and of their naturalization would have been of some value. Almost one half of the bishops came as aliens (p. 244), with Ireland claiming one hundred without counting Irishmen born in the British empire outside Ireland, France with forty-three, and Germany-Austro-Hungary with forty, and Poland with one. Glancing through the sketches one is struck by the infrequency of foreign-born appointees of late years, the paucity of episcopal writings, and the shortage of biographical articles of merit, let alone full-length biographies of substantial character. Surely there is a splendid field indicated for biographers who would write the lives of some of the greatest, and most saintly and most scholarly of the bishops, and such biographers would have careers to recount and characters to portray which would contribute to America's knowledge of the Church and appreciation of her own national culture.

RICHARD J. PURCELL

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ANCIENT HISTORY

La Religion d'Israël. By A. Lods. (Paris: Librairie Hachette. 1939. Pp. 256. 20 Fr.) *Le Christianisme antique: de origines à la Féodalité.* By A. Dufourcq). (Paris: Librairie Hachette. 1939. Pp. 256. 20 Fr.)

These two volumes are the first to appear in a series published by the Librairie Hachette of Paris. As planned originally — for many events have taken place since which may have changed all plans—the new collection was to include works by well-known specialists on Greek and Roman paganism, the religions of the far east, Protestantism and Islam. As far as we know only the two volumes reviewed here have appeared. To sum up within the limits of some two hundred and fifty pages the enormous amount of matter belonging to the periods covered by our authors, and to present it to the general public in a clear and attractive form, requires writers perfectly well-acquainted with the subject. And this is certainly true of both authors in this case, even if the liberal Protestant standpoint of Lods, who is still too much under the influence of the Wellhausen school of Old Testament criticism, calls for some restrictions. Lods divides his material into six parts: the beginning (pp. 1-45) describing the general Semitic background of the Hebrew religion; the mission of Moses (pp. 46-66) the founder of the Hebrew nation. The author does not adopt very definitely any conclusion regarding the date of the exodus; he inclines to the view that the Mount of God is to be looked for in Midian, and also holds that the name Y H W H was known before Moses and that there may have been Midianite and Genite influences; the third Part deals with Israel in Palestine (pp. 67-112): the religious situation in Canaan at the time of the Hebrew invasion, the religious evolution of Israel in Palestine, and characters of the Hebrew religion up to 750 B. C. Then comes the period of the prophets from 750 to the exile (pp. 113-161), that of the rise of Judaism (pp. 162-209) which brings a sympathetic study of Ezechiel and Deutero-Isaias, the work of Nehemias and Esdras, with the completion of the Law, and a sketch of the different tendencies of that period; finally (pp. 210-245) Judaism and the Greco-Roman culture in Palestine and in the Dispersion. A brief bibliography concludes the work (pp. 246-252): most of the titles are French, as is natural, being given the popular character of the book, though some important works in English and German find mention.

The companion volume on Christianity by Professor Dufourcq, for which the author was excellently prepared by his earlier studies (*L'Avenir du Christianisme*, 9 vols. — in different editions — 1926-1932), groups the facts around the leading characters or the central facts in twelve chapters. An introductory chapter (pp. 6-30) acquaints us with the background of early Christianity: the religious and moral forces struggling for supremacy.

The chapters on Jesus of Nazareth (pp. 31-55), St. Peter (pp. 56-73), St. Paul (pp. 74-91), St. John (pp. 91-111) give very substantial summaries of the history of the New Testament in which the specialist will appreciate the solidity of the author's information. We may note as of special interest the few pages on the origin of the Synoptic Gospels and the Acts (pp. 65-73) and on the Fourth Gospel and the other writings of St. John (pp. 104-111). St. Irenaeus, the first systematic theologian, is the central figure of the second century (pp. 112-138). The next two chapters: "The Church and the Empire" describe Christian life (pp. 139-165) through the persecutions of the third century to the peace of Constantine which contains a sketch of the development of the liturgy, discipline and missionary work in different countries; then a treatment of Christian thought (pp. 166-188) which centers around the activity of Origen, St. Athanasius and St. Augustine. The following chapters bring us to the end of the seventh century: "the Church and the down-fall of the Empire," picturing the course of events in the eastern part of the empire (pp. 189-207) and in the west (pp. 208-224). The next chapter describes (pp. 225-242) the work of the Church during the eighth and the ninth centuries in the midst of attempts at a restoration of the empire. Lastly there comes an account of the activities of the Church in "the triumphant anarchy" of the tenth century and of the beginning of the eleventh century (pp. 243-250).

These two volumes, as noted before, are meant as popular works, and therefore not intended for the specialist. But keeping their character in mind, we may say that the authors have achieved their purpose. They will be found very attractive reading. This is true more especially of the volume of Professor Dufourcq who excels in characterizing the different personages and periods in striking expressions which reveal the hand of the master.

EDWARD P. ARBEZ

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The Cambridge Ancient History. Volume XI, *The Imperial Peace, A. D. 70-192*. Edited by S. A. Cook, F. E. Adcock, M. P. Charlesworth. Volume XII, *The Imperial Crisis and Recovery, A. D. 193-324. Edited* by S. A. Cook, F. E. Adcock, M. P. Charlesworth, and N. H. Baynes. *Volume of Plates V*. Prepared by C. T. Seltman. (New York: Macmillan Co.; Cambridge: At the University Press. Volume XI. 1936. Pp. 997. $10.50; Volume XII. 1939. Pp. 849. $10.00; Volume of Plates. V. 1939. Pp. 242. $4.00.)

The three volumes under review bring the *Cambridge Ancient History* to a close, and they likewise mark the completion of the great project in co-operative history outlined by Lord Acton in 1896. Since our knowledge of ancient history, especially, has been enormously extended and deepened

in the past forty years, it is very fortunate that the *Cambridge Ancient History* was the last part of the project to be undertaken. While the *Cambridge Modern* and the first volume at least of the *Cambridge Medieval* are now somewhat antiquated, the *Ancient History* will constitute for a number of years our most authoritative work on a large scale in its field. Furthermore, as the present reviewer mentioned in the review of Volumes IX and X (*Catholic Historical Review*, January, 1936), the *Ancient History* is a much more comprehensive and better balanced work than the other two Cambridge series, as social history and the history of art and literature receive in it their proper attention.

Volumes XI and XII, covering as they do the period in which imperial Rome made her abiding contribution to western civilization and in which Christianity advanced far in its spiritual conquest of the ancient world, have a peculiar interest and importance for readers of this *Review*. They are all the more welcome, because the older general histories treating of the Roman empire, such as Merivale, Duruy, and Schiller—to say nothing of Gibbon—have long been antiquated, and the more recent general histories edited by Glotz, Halphen-Sagnac, etc., are on a smaller scale and are also less reliable. As in the review of Volumes IX and X, it will be enough here to mention certain chapters and to add a few critical comments.

Volume XI. Chapter II, "The Peoples of Northern Europe, The Getae and the Dacians," by Dr. G. Ekholm of Uppsala, and Chapter III, "The Sarmatae and Parthians," by Professor Rostovtzeff, are outstanding for their masterly control of a widely scattered and very difficult source material. Chapter VII, "The Rise of Christianity," by Canon Streeter, is written in the spirit of the same author's *The Primitive Church* (London, 1930). The point of view is, therefore, purely rationalistic. Chapter X, "The Principate and the Administration," and Chapter XI, "Rome and the Empire," both by Hugh Last, are penetrating and well presented studies on the Roman imperial constitution and administration in the period of the Flavians and Antonines. Chapters XII-XVI, which deal with the history of the provinces in east and west in the first and second centuries A. D., are all well done. While they naturally owe much to Rostovtzeff's great *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, they supplement Rostovtzeff's work and at the same time serve as a foil to his point of view on certain important questions. Chapter XVII, "Greek Literature, Philosophy, and Science," by F. H. Sandbach, Chapter XVIII, "Latin Literature of the Silver Age," by E. E. Sikes, and Chapter XIX, "Social Life in Rome and Italy," by J. Wright Duff, add nothing new, but they are worth reading, as competent and up to date surveys. Chapter XX, "Art from Nero to the Antonines," by G. Rodenwaldt of Berlin, is a masterly sketch of art in the west and in Greece and the near east during the period indicated, and it is of course based on the latest excavations and

studies. Following Chapter XXI, "Classical Roman Law," by W. W. Buckland, there is a short, but very penetrating conclusion (pp. 845-853) by Professor Adcock. While the great achievements of Rome during the period covered in this volume are summarized, Professor Adcock rightly emphasizes the short-comings in the Roman system of governmental administration and points to the seeds of decline and decay. In his own words: "the famous verdict of Gibbon that the period which elapsed from the death of Domitian to the accession of Commodus was the period in which the condition of the human race was most happy and prosperous must suffer deductions in the light of evidence then still unrevealed."

Volume XII. Chapter III, "The Barbarian Background," by L. Halphen, Chapter IV, "Sassanid Persia," by A. Christensen, and Chapter V, "The Invasions of Peoples from the Rhine to the Black Sea," by A. Alföldi, are excellent studies on the beginnings of the great barbarian invasions and on the early relations between Rome and the Sassanid dynasty. Christensen's chapter is especially important for religious as well as for political, social, and economic history. Chapter VI, "The Crisis of the Empire (A. D. 249-270)," Alföldi, is an outstanding contribution and one that had to be based on very difficult and in part very unsatisfactory source material. Chapter X, "The End of the Principate," and Chapter XI, "The Reform of Diocletian," by W. Ensslin, present in a clear and authoritative fashion the present state of our knowledge on the many complicated questions connected with the transformation of the principate into the dominate; Chapter XII, "The Development of Paganism in the Roman Empire," by A. D. Nock, is in the reviewer's opinion the best short study on the subject which has appeared to date. Chapter XIII, "Pagan Philosophy and the Christian Church," Chapter XIV, "The Christian Church in the East," both by F. C. Burkitt, and Chapter XV, "The Christian Church in the West, by Hans Lietzmann, are definitely rationalistic in spirit, and the first two chapters in particular will prove unsatisfactory to the Catholic reader. Chapter XVI, "The Transition to Late Classical Art," by G. Rodenwaldt, maintains the high level of the same author's survey in Volume XI. Chapter XVIII, "Literature and Philosophy in the Eastern Half of the Empire," by J. Bidez, is very well done, and therefore very welcome, as we badly need competent up-to-date treatments in English of the later Greek literature. Chapter XIX, "The Great Persecution," and Chapter XX, "Constantine", both by N. H. Baynes, are outstanding studies by the leading English authority on Constantine and his age. "The Epilogue" (pp. 700-709), following Chapter XX, is a brief, but searching analysis of the course of historical development covered in this volume. The final sentence is worth quoting, as it reflects the view of the latest editors of the *Cambridge Histories*, and particularly that of Professor Baynes, on the date marking the end of antiquity and the beginnings of the Middle Ages: "The foundation of New Rome, the Christian

capital *in partibus Orientis*, may well be regarded as the symbolic act which brings to a close the history of the ancient world."

The bibliographies prepared for the respective chapters in the two volumes are, on the whole, excellent. There is no reason, however, why the bibliography to Chapter VII, "The Rise of Christianity," in Volume XI, should be "as far as possible confined to books accessible in the English language," and the reviewer was also surprised to note that, while some French and German titles are actually included, no works by Catholic scholars are listed. Each volume contains an appendix on the sources—Mattingly's treatment of the evidence furnished by coins is an exceptionally valuable little essay (Volume XII, pp. 713-720), and has the usual equipment of maps, indices, and chronological tables. Moreover, footnotes are used more liberally in the main text of these two volumes than in earlier ones in the work. Their presence makes the main text, therefore, more valuable and satisfactory to the scholar or critical reader, in spite of the fact that footnotes were expressly forbidden by Lord Acton when he planned the *Cambridge Histories*.

Through careful editorial planning and through the welcome addition of the "Conclusion" and "Epilogue" in Volumes XI and XII respectively, a fairly satisfactory unity of presentation has been achieved. There are no unnecessary overlappings in the chapters, and there is only one bad gap: curiously enough, one of the most important sources for the period covered by Volume XII, namely the enigmatic *Historia Augusta*, receives neither in the body of the text nor in the appendices on the sources the full attention which its problems demand.

The accompanying *Volume of Plates* is well done. The material has been carefully selected and the photography is exceptionally clear. Readers of the REVIEW will have a special interest in the plate which gives a picture of the reconstructed model of the Christian Church, built at Doura on the Euphrates in 232 A. D., with its precious frecoes (p. 166).

MARTIN R. P. MCGUIRE

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MEDIAEVAL HISTORY

The Letters of Saint Boniface. Translated with an Introduction by Ephraim Emerton. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1940. Pp. 204. $3.00.)

Since this work appeared after Professor Emerton's death, his successor at Harvard, Professor George La Piana, prepared his manuscript for publication, in which task he was assisted by Professor Austin P. Evans of Columbia. The editors have also added a useful bibliography which compares favorably with that to be found in the German doctoral dissertation by H. Vahle, entitled, *Die Widerstände gegen das Werk des Bonifatius*

(1934). While the latter ignores all scholarly work done outside of Germany, the former lacks some important German titles.

Mr. Emerton's introduction is rather brief, and the letters themselves are presented almost entirely without annotation. The index is excellent. A comparison with the Latin original shows that the translation has been done with care, avoiding the unpleasant feeling caused to some readers by too literal a rendering.

St. Boniface said nothing about the languages he employed in trying to convert various Germanic peoples to the Christian religion, but Mr. Emerton could have found useful information on this subject in several German and Dutch secondary sources, including the interesting discussion in Vahle's booklet (pp. 1-5). Particularly disconcerting is his misinterpretation of the heresies of the Frankish bishop Clemens. He claims that both Clemens and the early Protestants differed from the orthodox Roman Catholics on some important points. Clemens is said to have taught that "marriage was the right and duty of the Christian priest and preached the redemption of *all* souls, good and evil, through the sacrifice of Christ." He merely claimed that marriage was the right, but not the duty, of the Christian priest, and as for the redemption of good and bad souls, he merely observed that when Christ descended into the realm of the dead shortly after the Crucifixion, He converted all souls He found there. Similarly, the early Protestants did not believe that it was the duty of the Christian pastor to get married, nor did they assert that through the sacrifice of Christ *all* souls were saved.

ALBERT HYMA

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The Monastic Order in England: a History of Its Development from the Times of St. Dunstan to the Fourth Lateran Council 943-1216. By DOM DAVID KNOWLES. (Cambridge: At the University Press; New York: Macmillan Co. Pp. xix, 737. $9.50.)

The periods of monastic history in mediaeval England that are most widely known are the early Anglo-Saxon, that flowered in Bede and Boniface, and the last centuries, the age of the friars and Lollards, of Langland and Chaucer. These two seem to have the greatest national interest and are closely connected with English literature, whereas the literature of the age which intervenes between them is Latin, and its monastic history consists largely of wave after wave of men and ideals brought over into England from the continent. It is this middle period of foreign leadership that is covered in the present work.

The author presents strong reasons for thinking that the early Anglo-Saxon monasticism wholly disappeared during the Danish invasions, and had to be founded anew in the middle of the tenth century by St. Dunstan

and his contemporaries, while north of the Humber religious houses reappeared only after the Norman conquest. Though the refounders were English, several of them had spent some time in foreign abbeys like Ghent and Fleury where the continental reform was flourishing, and from which they drew much of their inspiration. Beginning at this point, the first half of Dom Knowles' work is a narrative of the successive movements during the next two and a half centuries. It was an age of foundations and fervor. With the Norman conquest England entered upon an epoch which is perhaps the least insular in its history, and as soon as one movement began to lag another came from the continent to take the lead in religious enthusiasm. Each of these in turn is treated with sympathy and discrimination. The author is able to distinguish the variations of purpose of the different founders and reformers, and to explain the changing problems and spirit of each generation. Cluny, Citeaux, Clairvaux, and Prémontré are well known, but many will find enlightening the study of the Norman monasticism imported by the Conqueror. Though deeply influenced by Cluny, the Norman abbeys differed from it in important respects, both in organization and in ideal, and in these differences they were closer to the Lorraine reforms, and to the Anglo-Saxon stock they came to renew. While Cluny sought to withdraw wholly from the world, and to centralize the control of all its subject houses under the abbot of Cluny, the Norman abbeys were more willing to integrate themselves with the cultural and religious life of society; each house was under the control of the crown, abbots were employed in public affairs, and writing and teaching were prominent among the activities of the monks. Strictly Cluniac foundations came as a second wave of continental influence after the conquest, but never played more than a secondary part in England. A surprising fact is that in spite of the disorders of Stephen's reign when several of the greater abbeys suffered severely, a large number of new houses were founded and flourished. A well balanced treatment is given to the last fifty years of the period, a time when earlier fervor was institutionalized, and the less desirable results of feudalism and of the new Roman law brought a larger press of mundane business upon the monks, and with it a shrinking of ideals and observance to the mediocre level which prevailed through the rest of the Middle Ages.

The second half of the book is institutional. An account of the internal organization, life, and activities of the monastery is followed by one of its external relations with Church authorities and with the feudal system. These chapters are perhaps even more valuable than the narrative part of the work as they go much more deeply into the subjects than is usual in English books meant for any but the most specialized readers. The volume closes with twenty-seven short appendices and tables, and an excellent general bibliography. It is well written, the interpretations of men and institutions are balanced and penetrating; but it is too full of information

to be easy reading. The author's aim has been to give a full account of the monasteries which is based at every point on the sources. Voluminous footnotes guide the reader to the original texts and to modern studies in French and German as well as English.

CARLETON M. SAGE

Catholic University of America

Papal Enforcement of Some Medieval Marriage Laws. By CHARLES EDWARD SMITH, Associate Professor of History in Louisiana State University. (University, Louisiana: Louisiana State University Press. 1939. Pp. xvii, 230. $2.50.)

Professor Smith in this volume has drawn upon a wealth of source material in order to report on matrimonial cases in which the popes of the Middle Ages intervened for the sake of pronouncing upon the canonical status of Christian marriages, when their validity was called into question in view of the impediments of consanguinity, affinity, public propriety and spiritual relationship. The treatment of the papal enforcement of these impediments ends with the pontificate of Boniface VIII (1294-1303), when the law and practice concerning them was practically crystallized and unified throughout the Church.

The introduction of the author's work offers a hurried survey of the Church's present law regarding the impediments and obstacles that stand in the way of the valid contraction of Christian marriage. This condensed outline, however, presents little more than a conglomeration of half-truths, from the reading of which it is practically inevitable that one would form a distorted notion of the Church's current legislation. One could readily point to a half dozen or more misleading statements and fundamental misrepresentations of correct canonical doctrine in the few pages of the author's introduction.

In the historical treatise proper it is stated that "the passages in the Scriptures relating to the marriages of blood relatives are somewhat inconsistent" (p. 8). The reviewer fails to see any inconsistency between the texts of *Leviticus*, XVIII: 7-14 and *Numbers*, XXXVI: 6, which are the pertinent texts relative to the Mosaic legislation. Any earlier practice, such as that of Abraham marrying his niece, Sarai, which cannot be harmonized with the later Mosaic law, does not argue any inconsistency in the texts that propose the law.

To speak in the first chapter of the book about the Church's laws on the impediment of consanguinity without previously clarifying the Church's usage relative to the computation of the degrees appears to be an inversion of the order of logical procedure. Likewise, to mention the "second and third kinds" of affinity (p. 41) without a proper concomitant explanation of this phraseology contributes little to the reader's

information. The repeated use of the word "grade" for the Latin *gradus* (pp. 21, 32, 33) and the employment of the term "public honesty" in designation of the Latin *publica honestas* are ill chosen. "Degree" and "public propriety" are much more precise and idiomatic. It also seems a very loose statement to designate the impediment of public propriety as one which "prevented marriage to one who previously had been betrothed to a relative" (p. 45). The obvious sense of this would imply that once a person had been betrothed to a relative he was no longer permitted to marry. The intended sense is that a betrothed person was prevented from marrying anyone who was a close relative of his or her betrothed.

That a book so full of enlightening detail should reflect no greater care for the attention to dates identifying the divers councils, the various Roman pontiffs and the different canonical writers, is indeed regrettable. Moreover, on repeated occasions the reader will recognize certain inconsistencies and inaccuracies. For instance, he will be surprised to find that Ado of Vienne (ninth century) becomes an "Adonis" (p. 63); that the traditional Neo-Caesarea is called New Caesarea (pp. 37 and 42); and Adalbert is rendered Adelboro (p. 80); that Chalons (p. 149) is mentioned without any indication whether reference is made to the town *sur Marne* or the one *sur Saône*.

Note must also be taken of the fact that the book reveals not only some aberrations from exactness, but also some forthright mistakes. Thus, Alfonso IX was a first cousin of Berengaria's father, and was not the latter's brother; therefore, Berengaria was not the niece of Alfonso IX, as is stated (p. 132), but his cousin. Berengar was not only a claimant to the throne of Italy (p. 77), but the actual king from 950-961. The synod of Rouen, referred to on pages 51-52 under date of the year 704, should in all probability be listed under the year 1074.

Some of the place-names, when turned into vernacular dress, have become mutilated almost beyond recognition. Only a few representative instances are recounted here. Peter, bishop of Roeskilde in Denmark, is referred to as the bishop of Rothschild (p. 106); Worcester in England (*Vigornium* becomes Wighorn, p. 101); Oviedo in northwestern Spain is called Orvieto (p. 153); Arsenius, bishop of Orte, is made the bishop of Ortensi (p. 67); Torres is rendered with Turritano (p. 169); Piacenza is mentioned as Placentia (p. 92); finally, the historically famous town of Würzburg (*Herbipolis*) is naively transliterated into Herbolim (p. 167), notwithstanding the author's concomitant statement that the papal sanction, which was proclaimed in Latin by Cardinal Hugh of Ostia, "the Bishop of Würzburg rendered into German for the benefit of Otto and the lay magnates."

With the aid of the genealogical tables compiled by Dr. Wilhelm Karl Prinz von Isenburg in his *Stammtafeln zur Geschichte der Europäischen*

Staaten with *Register und Ergänzungen* (Berlin: Verlag J. A. Stargardt, 1936-1937), a verification of the relationship of Philip Augustus and Ingeburg could have been essayed. Indeed, since not a few of the cases treated by the author deal with somewhat involved relationships, it comes as a surprise not to find this valuable work, or one of similar import, given mention in the bibliography. The works of Esmein and Leitner (1891 and 1912 editions respectively) should be supplanted with the recent editions published. Instead of the Migne edition of Peter Lombard's *Sentences* the Quaracchi edition (1916) should have been cited and used. The *Histoire des Conciles* of Hefele-Leclercq at present consists of nineteen vols. in ten, printed at Paris 1907-1938. Lastly, two recent works which should have found a place in the bibliography are George Haywood Joyce's *Christian Marriage* (Heythrop Theological Series, I, London: Sheed and Ward, 1933) and Francis X. Wahl's *The Matrimonial Impediments of Consanguinity and Affinity* (Catholic Univeristy of America Studies in Canon Law, n. 90, Washington, D. C., 1934).

Papal Enforcement of Some Medieval Marriage Laws offers a study of a long and interesting list of cases in which it was only through the direct papal intervention that the canonical status of Christian marriages was officially settled. The book is a helpful contribution in the large field of the history of canon law. It is hoped, however, in the event of a later edition, that this historical study will undergo a thorough revision, which will free the work of its many minor inexactitudes, not only in respect of the historical correctness of its doctrine, but also with regard to the reliable identification of persons and places.

CLEMENT BASTNAGEL

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MODERN HISTORY

The Emperor Charles V. By KARL BRANDI. Translated from the German by C. V. Wedgwood. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1939. Pp. 655. $5.00.)

Much has been written about Charles V but little that has been done can in any way approach this detailed and scholarly work. The empire was such a colossal hodge-podge that it would take a genius of more than ordinary stature to evaluate it historically. It must have been exceedingly difficult for Charles to keep *au courant* of the events of the day. Much more so for a man who has lived four hundred years later in a different atmosphere. Brandi has disentangled the puzzle for us. The emperor had not only the internal problems of his empire to administer but he had to deal with such people as Francis I, Henry VIII, and Popes Clement VII and Paul III. The Turks were pounding at the gates of southeastern Europe. Martin Luther was in revolt.

Brandi gives what he thinks were the chief policies of Charles—the peace of Christendom, defence against the Turks and the calling of a council (p. 363). Much more could have been said concerning this subject of the council. Pope Clement VII was opposed to a council for many reasons: the papacy had not yet completely killed conciliarism. Rome had just been sacked and the army of Charles V was not far removed from the Eternal City. Clement VII was illegitimate, which made him fearful of what a council might do, especially when so many of the cardinals were suffering from "pontifical madness," and finally there was the conviction that calling a council would be useless. None of this is mentioned in Brandi's volume, and yet if one proposes to treat of the problem it ought to be discussed.

Brandi says: "As for Luther, he echoed the common opinion of good Catholics. . . . The people scorned the sacraments and the celibacy of the clergy, doubted the divine nature of Christ and were contemptuous of those in authority" (p. 186). It is difficult to agree with Dr. Brandi in his statement that they were "good Catholics." No doubt many of them were in good faith. In order to be "good" one ought to have orthodox opinions concerning the teachings of the Church of which one is a member. One wonders too when Brandi says that Charles V was of the same mould as Luther (p. 523). It is extremely difficult to see much resemblance between the two. Luther was fiery, emotional and violent. Charles was quiet, dignified, cold and calm. They were physically, emotionally and religiously different.

The scholarly writer of this biography gives a correct evaluation of the place of Erasmus in the period of the revolt. "Some stood blindly by papal authority, whether it governed well or ill. Others clung to Luther with equal obstinacy. Neither of these groups was capable of independent thought. . . . The third group cared for God's word and the common weal, predilections which were not likely to preserve them from calumny. To this group belonged Erasmus and his admirers" (p. 258). Erasmus was in no sense an apostle of the new religion. So many writers of this period have misinterpreted the rôle of Erasmus that it is refreshing to note that a man of Brandi's calibre gives the correct analysis.

It is not correct for the author to say, "Melanchthon had later gone back whole-heartedly to the Catholic side." The position of Melanchthon was more that of compromise. He tried to effect a *rapprochement* between the Catholics and Lutherans. It is difficult to find any authority of this period who would make the extreme statement that Melanchthon had gone over to the Catholics.

The author remarks: "Henry VIII was so set on his divorce that he was sparing no pains to get theological and legal approbation for it. He sought Charles' argreement above all, for he knew that the Pope's decision depended on that" (p. 304). Pastor does not share this view. In the

prolific correspondence which went on between England and Rome at the time concerning the affair, this opinion is rarely mentioned. There can be very little doubt that Clement VII was "tamed" by the sack of 1527, but it is something else to say that it was this that determined his policy.

Again: "Since the Popes and the Emperor were now friends there could no longer be any doubt of his judgment concerning the divorce" (p. 277). The most that any one could say concerning the judgment of the pope in this matter is what we read in the documents. Another very curious statement is that, "Charles had in reality abandoned the Catholic standpoint" (p. 513). Just what Brandi means by this is not clear. No one questions the orthodoxy of the emperor. Charles did not see eye to eye with the papacy in temporal matters but in questions of dogma he was adamant.

There are a number of very beautiful illustrations in the book. No bibliography! This is a colossal mistake since the volume will be read only by scholars, and even in the translated work such people do make use of a bibliography. A map or two would have been very helpful. The index is fair.

EDWARD V. CARDINAL

Loyola University
Chicago

Richelieu. His Rise to Power. By CARL J. BURCKHARDT. Translated and Abridged by Edwin and Willa Muir. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1940. Pp. 413. $3.75.)

"Foreign policy was for him the highest manifestation of the State, and had to take precedence of all its other functions, since in the last resort it decided over them all; also it was for him the one field of human action in which, often by the slightest and almost imperceptible means, a word, a sign, one could move and change tracts of future history" (p. 357). In those words the great cardinal's latest biographer sums up pretty well what most characterizes Richelieu's official career. In this study the reader is given an additional interpretation of Louis XIII's great minister, rather than a new interpretation. More factual than Belloc, more detailed than Lodge, the Burckhardt portrait is not essentially different from the lines drawn by earlier works. Undoubtedly wide reading in Hanotaux, Avenel and the standard works on Richelieu as well as intimate acquaintance with the cardinal's own *Mémoires* and those of his contemporaries, prepared the way for this book, but no chance is given the reader to follow up any of these bibliographical leads, for there is not a footnote in the entire volume nor is there a bibliography. This defect may be due to the "abridgers" who did the work of trainslation, or its remedy may have

been postponed to the subsequent volume which Mr. Burckhardt promises (p. 401).

In the strict sense this is not a biography. It is rather an enlightened discussion of Richelieu's high policies of statecraft and his execution of such major episodes as those of the Valtelline war, the crushing of the Huguenots, the struggle over the Mantuan succession, and the relations of France with the England of Charles I and Buckingham. Within this limitation the author has performed his task well. The work is well written and the translators have done a good job. At times Burckhardt pens a sentence or phrase that summarizes a whole segment of the long and intricate phases of the cardinal's life. For example, "what must strike us most of all is that Richelieu, though he felt the sublime compulsion which carried him irresistibly on, never subsided for a moment into a passive reliance on his star, into an irrational blind sense of his mission, but at every point of his work relied on the full employment of the human reason" (p. 401).

It is interesting to watch the intrigues by which Richelieu won the red hat, not scrupling to cultivate Louis XIII's former falconer when that favorite was riding the waves while at heart he had nothing but contempt for the man (p. 135). It was this same prelate who secured one goal in September, 1622 when he was nominated a cardinal and refused, when he entered the king's council for the first time, to take a seat beneath the Constable Lesdiguières. By a curious turn Cardinal LaRouchefoucauld, who by reason of age and rank sat next the king, soon thereafter retired from the royal council and Richelieu moved into his place and in this manner did he become the king's "first" minister, and never by an official act of Louis XIII. The reader misses the cardinal's stormy relations with Urban VIII, his attempted dictation of the religious orders, his founding of the Academy, etc. Perhaps these are reserved for the future volume.

It is difficult to assent to Burckhardt's view that Lutheranism operated by its spirit alone because "it profoundly mirrored the essential nature of the German people" (p. 298). Of lesser consequence the reader questions if Henry IV was the "greatest" of French kings (pp. 33, 54); the devoted Father Joseph who served the cardinal was strictly speaking a Capuchin, not a Franciscan (p. 81); England was not yet "Great Britain" in the early seventeenth century (p. 252); moreover it is not correct to say that the Jesuits were at this time "to a great extent Spanish (pp. 296-297). Though the reviewer would take exception to the points raised, they are small matters in a generally sound work. Readers interested in a contrast of two strikingly different contemporary churchmen will enjoy Mr. Burckhardt's fine picture of the conflict between Richelieu and Cardinal Bérulle (pp. 241-243). Typographical errors were note on pp. 112, 157, 170, 183, 278, and 356.

The volume contains sixteen well-chosen illustrations and a fairly complete index. The author ends his narrative with the triumph of Richelieu over Marie de' Medici and Gaston, the king's brother, in 1631, and it is from there that we may rightly await with pleasure the completion of his intelligent and urbane study of one who never fails to attract the interest of historians.

JOHN TRACY ELLIS

Catholic University of America

Sir Thomas Wyse, 1791-1862. By JAMES JOHNSTON AUCHMUTY, Lecturer in Education at the University of Dublin. (London: P. S. King and Son, Ltd. 1939. Pp. vii, 320. 15s.)

By degrees we are commencing to see the political and social constellation of early nineteenth-century Britain in its entirety. Now that the great luminaries have all been pretty well observed and measured, the lesser bodies are coming in for scrutiny. One of these was Thomas Wyse. The simile seems especially applicable in his case; for he lived in an atmosphere of detachment, of abstract justice, where no warmth entered that was not intellectual. This made him a domestic tyrant and an insufferable prig; it brought stark tragedy into the lives of his Bonaparte wife and their two hapless sons; but it greatly contributed to the success both of his career and of his services to the public. It was an unusual quality in an Irish Catholic, even in a propertied, Anglo-Irish, unionist Catholic, whose formal education, begun at Stonyhurst, was completed at Trinity, Dublin: but it is doubtful whether, lacking it, he could have achieved what he did, either in reforming Irish education or in setting precedents for the re-entry of Catholics into British public life after centuries of exclusion. He was one of the very first to receive a ministerial position, to enter the Privy Council, or to be appointed to an important diplomatic post. And there were not many Catholics even of his time who enjoyed in equal measure the acquaintance and esteem of men who played leading roles in British government, from the prince consort down. The great ambition of his early life was to prepare the Irish for making proper use of widening political opportunities by the establishment of a general system of education in what we should call primary, secondary, technical, and higher grades. His scheme, which in part was put into effect, was built upon laborious study and upon observation on the continent. Of great interest in various respects, it is perhaps most noteworthy for his efforts to devise a system through which Irish Catholics and Protestants could learn to live on better terms by sharing the same educational institutions, but at the same time receiving thorough religious instruction from their respective clergy. The discussion of this system and of its antecedents introduces into the book a great deal of Irish history of both pre- and post-emancipation

times, and especially of the movement for liberal and even ultra-liberal Catholicism which was sponsored by the Catholic Association and by some prominent members of the Irish hierarchy. Mr. Auchmuty throws fresh light on the profound disagreements among the clergy concerning both the co-education of Catholics with Protestants, and the proposed government "veto" on episcopal appointments, by his use of Wyse's neglected writings and of the Wyse family manuscripts. The manuscripts also give welcome information on British diplomacy in the Near East during the years after 1848 when Wyse was minister to Greece.

Mr. Auchmuty tells us a great deal about these and other things, and tells it extremely well. Once in a while history seems to nod a bit, as when (apparently forgetting Cardinal Consalvi's activities) he represents England as doing "everything in its power to retain for the Papacy its temporal possessions", or when (and most persistently) he refers to the Whigs of the first half of the century as "Liberals". There are peculiarities, too, in the bibliography, where no life of Napoleon I is cited but that of J. S. C. Abbott, and where the name of Professor C. K. Webster does not appear. But one forgets these things in reading a book that is almost uniformly fresh, sound, well-documented and delightfully readable.

HERBERT C. F. BELL

Wesleyan University

The History of The Times. Vol. II. *The Tradition Established 1841-1884.* (New York: Macmillan Co. 1939. Pp. xv, 622. $5.00.)

To appreciate what is, perhaps, the most essential matter dealt with in this admirable and extremely important piece of work—to appreciate, in fact, the light it throws on one of the greatest issues in recent and contemporary society and government—one has only to compare the limitations on the complete freedom of the press accepted in America today with the position of *The Times* in the 'fifties of the last century. *The Times* acted with impunity upon claims, made on behalf of the press in general, to be an important part of the government of the nation. For, in modern states at least, control over the dissemination of news and the shaping of public opinion must be rated as at least equally important with the controls exercised in the strictly administrative and economic spheres of government, and also as being intimately interwoven with those two other controls. Yet *The Times* was able to act upon the theory that the press need pay no attention to the demands or protests of the government in publishing any news which it could secure when there was "no possibility of *proving*" [italics mine] that such intelligence had been "obtained by unfair or improper means"; of applying "strict and fixed principles" [determined by itself] to the news published; and, on this basis, of informing "the very conscience of nations", and of calling down

"the judgment of the world" on what it saw fit to condemn. Those who controlled the paper aspired quite frankly to "participate in the government of the world", and to take over the function of "the Church in the Middle Ages" of acting as "enlighteners of the people's conscience." Incidentally, they were taking over some of the functions exercised by parliament. That they had inevitably to exercise such functions on the basis of information far less complete than that which the government possessed; that their pronouncements were regarded in foreign countries as emanating in great part from the ministry; that they might frustrate international negotiations and exacerbate international enmities even to the point of war; that they were attempting, in the words of their friend, Clarendon, to exercise a "despotism", did not weigh with the proprietor and editors. Neither did the danger that necessary deference to subscribers and advertisers might compel them to support malignant growths of public sentiment to which they had given the original impulse. Neither did Derby's plea that if they aspired to exercise the influence of statesmen, they were not "free from the corresponding responsibility". Only for a short period was *The Times* sufficiently in advance of all its rivals, and sufficiently independent of all parties, to take this stand; but in those years it drew attention to an aspect of modern "liberalism" which has never been more important than it is today. The "totalitarian" solution is spreading.

But, if *The Times* was unable for very long to be quite so irresponsible as this, its power throughout the four decades covered here is unexpectedly imposing. Courted by statesmen and parties, it was never under the necessity of giving unreserved support to any one of them. It did, indeed, make some payment in its columns to statesmen who furnished it with early and exclusive news. It long afforded valuable aid to Aberdeen, and even made some adjustment of its general attitude as a result of the well-known alliance of its chief editor, Delane, with Palmerston. But the revelations here of its ability to secure information regarding discussions in the cabinet, and of the instances when its approval was sought by premiers, both as to ministerial personnel and ministerial measures, are as disturbing as the disclosures contained in the *Letters of Queen Victoria* to a belief that the practice of cabinet government in nineteenth century England was virtually identical with the theory. Neither Gladstone nor Disraeli was ever on such terms of intimacy with Delane as Palmerston or even Aberdeen: but Disraeli, forming his first ministry in 1868, wrote of "*our* Chancellor of the Exchequer", while Gladstone, in the following year, invited Delane to discuss with him the Irish land question before introducing the bill which dealt with it to parliament. Among those who wrote Delane in terms almost of supplication we find even an archbishop of Canterbury. All of this was recognition, not only of the political power of the most powerful unit of the fourth estate, but of the fact that

The Times was a national institution to a degree that few if any papers have ever been. It showed its limitations in many ways, such as its misjudgment of the American Civil War, its lack of balanced information as to the causes of the conflict of 1870, its ignorance and prejudice where the Catholic Church and the papacy were concerned. But it was triumphantly English in its independence, its preference for compromise, and even in its insularity. The English "governing class"—that unique intellectual-aristocratic-financial-human amalgam which in those days was really governing—paid it only fitting tribute. But it will receive deserved tribute, too, from readers of this volume for the enterprise, conscientiousness, and integrity shown in its news-gathering, its editing and its management. For we really have here two books, one dealing with *The Times'* "public", the other with its "private", life. The "public" life is abundantly set forth in so far as the paper's relations with ministers and ministries, with foreign policy, with the great wars of the period, and with such events as the Indian mutiny are concerned. By comparison, and in spite of the paper's close connection with the "City", its reactions to domestic issues of all sorts are, for the most part, scantily treated. The description of the "private" life is all that could be wished; and the story of the paper's fight to secure foreign news by carrier pigeons, special trains, privately chartered boats, and the new electric telegraph—a fight carried on in desperate competition with rival journals and news agencies, and sometimes against the opposition of foreign governments—is really an epic. There are delightful sketches, too, of the personalities and activities of the men who gave *The Times* its fame.

Among its claims to high distinction *The Times* might well place the production of this volume. Nearly all the chapters are based upon careful and painstaking scholarship, evidenced in the searching of unpublished documents in British and French repositories, public and private. The archives at Windsor, so often neglected, have been used extensively; and from *The Times'* own documentary files comes much that is important and novel . The work of scholarship is further carried on by the careful collation of unpublished with printed sources, and the exercise of marked restraint and wisdom in the drawing of inferences. It would be easy to point out certain misstatements, some exaggerated claims as to the paper's influence, and occasional failures to supply needed authorities; but these flaws are so heavily outweighed that the book clearly ranks as a standard work on English history. Moreover. it is extremely readable, handsomely turned out, and provided with reprints of considerable documentary material. One must hope fervently that present attacks upon civilization will not rob us of volume III.

HERBERT C. F. BELL

Wesleyan University

Publicity and Diplomacy with Special Reference to England and Germany 1890-1914. By JAMES ORON HALE. (New York: D. Appleton-Century Co. 1940. Pp. ix, 483. $4.00.)

The guns on the Western front were hardly silenced when presses began to pour forth their steady stream of books explaining, or purporting to explain, the background for the first World War. The increased tempo in historical productions has brought the number of volumes to a staggering total. Consequently it requires infinite patience, skillful research and no small amount of courage to essay a contribution to our understanding of this tragic era. *Publicity and Diplomacy* is convincing evidence that Professor Hale of the University of Virginia possesses these qualities to a pre-eminent degree. While not substantially altering the conventional appraisal of Anglo-German relationships prior to Sarajevo, the author strongly feels —and makes the reader share the same convition—that much richness and color may still be added to the picture of those confused years.

Specifically, the author seeks to discover and explain the interdependence existing between the press, the public and the responsible heads of government. And around this triad of issues a fascinating story is constructed. For substantial reasons the author rejects the vague term " public opinion " for the more precise " publicity ". It is a distinction wisely drawn, but as the work progresses one suspects that the writer was not always aware of his own delimitation. Except for this point Professor Hale is remarkably consistent. He demonstrates that despite the growing literacy, the widening suffrage and the popular enthusiasm for the daily paper which characterized the fusion of the nineteenth into the twentieth century " the course of events leading to the catastrophe of 1914 clearly showed that publicity was no substitute for intelligence and that mass democracy was as easily enslaved by shibboleths and stereotypes as were the subjects of dynastic despotisms in an earlier age " (p. 12).

A comparison of the German and English press systems reveals that the former was never " free " in a political sense (p. 46) whereas the latter enjoyed infinitely greater latitude. While admitting this feature, it seems that English statesmen were wont to attach undue importance to German journalistic fulminations while at the same time they disclaimed all responsibility for the aberrations of their own dailies. We do know that Downing Street could influence the press if it so desired. For did not the foreign office control the main sources of information? And did it not on occasion directly interfere to influence the activities of Fleet Street? Cases in point were Salisbury's successful intervention in 1897 to prevent a violent Anglo-German press war over alleged British backing of the Hamburg dock-workers' strike (p. 142), and again in 1898 Queen Victoria's equally auspicious effort to induce the English editors to adopt a more conciliatory tone toward the Kaiser (p. 168). It hurt and perplexed

German diplomats when these endeavors were not used as precedents for further restrictions, at least on news likely to have international repercussions. How great was the force of publicity in influencing Anglo-German relations? Undoubtedly it did figure in the calculations of statesmen and did limit their mobility in negotiations but "it did not determine the direction of national policies" nor did "it fix the decisions taken" in London or Berlin (p. 189). Publicity was a conditioning rather than a decisive factor in European politics.

The mechanical set-up of the book is splendid. Copious footnotes buttress every debatable point. The lack of a critical bibliography is unfortunate, but to insist on this might seem captiousness on the part of the reviewer. Not the least commendable quality is the singular felicity of style with which the author dresses up his narrative; even the well-known details of the "Kruger Telegram" and the Boer War take on added zest and sparkle. The book is long but never dull. It is a volume well worth reading.

CLARENCE C. WALTON

Duquesne University

AMERICAN HISTORY

The Spirit of French Canada: A Study of the Literature. By IAN FORBES FRASER. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1939. Pp. xi, 219. $2.75.)

It is frequently said that Canada is a country of two great races. (The word "race" is employed in accordance with the loose but convenient usage of the politician and the journalist, not according to the strict definition of the anthropologist.) Actually, Canada is a land of four and forty "races", at least four of which can, if we confine our scale of measurement to within the national frontiers, be described as "great". But with one exception, and that the greatest, all these races are fairly content to see themselves gradually amalgamated into one homogeneous population speaking the English language. The French, in large part discoverers and founders of the country, and still the largest single element in its population, have maintained their separate identity, their racial patriotism, their culture and their language with a stubborn tenacity that has so far defeated all the powerful forces tending to drive them into the melting pot.

The present work is a study of the spirit, enthusiasm, in some cases the fanaticism, that inspire this "nation within a nation", as they find expression in the French literature of Canada since about the middle of the nineteenth century. It is a clear and comprehensive analysis of French Canadian nationalism as a whole, with detailed study of several concomitant influences: those of the accepted "history" of the race in

America; of the mother country, European France; of the Catholic Church; of the language and folk-lore; of the cult of the soil. It shows sympathy and insight. Particularly illuminating is the exposition of that perhaps unique phenomenon, the union of nationalism and religion and the support of that union by the Catholic clergy.

The book is a literary and sociological, rather than a historical, study. Yet it must be recommended as of high value to the student of Canadian history, with the warning that it often lacks precision and factual exactitude, and often, especially in the presentation of the historical setting, is marred by loose and careless statement. At the beginning, we find the following passage:

> The struggle for French Canadian survival seems more impressive because of the fact that for a century and three-quarters the attacks on the racial identity of the French have been unremitting. . . . many overt attempts have been made, some in the present day, to reduce the influence of the Catholic clergy and to deprive the French of their language, their system of law, their political rights, and the control over the education of their children (p. 2).

If these words meant what they say, and if such meaning were true, Canada would be a stalking ground of tyranny, comparable with a totalitarian state of Europe, and not the free, democratic, pleasant land we know, with, for three-quarters of a century and more, French Canadians always among its leading statesmen-rulers and French Canadians always in control of its largest, and, in some respects, most important, province. Put into language commensurate with fact, the passage might resolve itself into something like this: from some quarters there have frequently come attacks, in the press and on the platform, against French Canadian nationality, and occasionally official action has been taken, in earlier days in what is now the province of Quebec, in later times in provinces where the French form a small minority, action which might tend towards one or more of the above-mentioned ends!

The author speaks of "the natural tendency of federal, provincial, and local governments, despite constitutional guarantees, to relegate French to the position of a foreign language" (p. 7). If "constitutional" here has even the equivalence of "legal", the obvious comment is that the courts are always open for the checking of illegalities, that they have been freely used, and that in particular the final court of appeal, the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, has shown extreme solicitude to protect the rights of the French and other minorities in Canada. In another passage "constitution" clearly has the restricted significance of "the fundamental written law of the nation":

> The British North America Act of 1867, which is in reality the constitution of the Dominion of Canada, specifically guarantees the linguistic parity of English and French (p. 128).

But how different is this statement from the precise and carefully guarded words of the Act itself:

> 133. Either the English or the French Language may be used by any Person in the Debates of the Houses of the Parliament of Canada and of the Houses of the Legislature of Quebec; and both these Languages shall be used in the respective Records and Journals of those Houses; and either of those Languages may be used by any Person or in any Pleading or Process in or issuing from any Court of Canada established under this Act, and in or from all or any of the Courts of Quebec.
>
> The Acts of the Parliament of Canada and of the Legislature of Quebec shall be printed and published in both those Languages.

This is the only mention in the British North America Act of the use of the French language. Yet, two pages after the last quotation, the author, referring to an attempt by the Educational Department of the province of Ontario in 1912 and subsequent years to impose certain regulations governing the use of French and English in primary schools, says "the affair was felt to be a test of the constitutional guarantees and of the good faith of the Dominion authorities". But (except in one circumstance) the Dominion authorities have nothing to do with education, entirely a provincial matter, and, as has just been seen, the act gives no guarantee as to the use of French in schools.

Attention may be called to another instance of this inexactness of statement:

> Section 93 of the Act of 1867 guaranteed the right of minority groups in all provinces to establish separate schools. . . . The people of Quebec have been proud of the fact that the English-speaking minority has always had control of its own school system, and they ask why the English majorities in the other provinces are so reluctant to extend similar privileges to the French minorities (p. 129).

(1) What section 93 guaranteed was such rights to *denominational* (not race or language) schools as existed by law in each province at the time of confederation, with the further provision that in any province where a system of separate schools existed at confederation, or was afterwards established by the provincial legislature, an appeal should lie to the federal authority against any subsequent provincial action affecting the rights and privileges of the *Protestant* or *Roman Catholic* minority, and the federal parliament *might* enact remedial legislation. (2) Accordingly the *Protestant* minority in the province of Quebec has maintained its separate school system, and the French Catholic majority, an overwhelming one, has set an example to the world by its not only just but generous treatment of this Protestant school system. But the *religious* minority, made up of Protestants (with whom, for educational purposes, are usually associated the Jews) is far from being identical with the *linguistic* minority, the

English-speaking population of the province. In the eight other provinces, where the *religious* minority, which may claim some guarantees under this section 93, is Catholic, it is even farther removed from being identical with the French-speaking *linguistic* minority. Indeed, with the exception of New Brunswick, where they approximate to three-quarters, in these provinces the French form from about one-sixth to about two-fifths of the Catholic population.

It may be noted that Catholics do not "attend confession" (p. 84) and that they dislike the characterisation of the piety of the Jesuit martyrs of Canada as "obstinate devotion" (p. 82).

JAMES F. KENNEY

Public Archives of Canada

Canadian-American Relations 1849-1874. By LESTER BURRELL SHIPPEE. [*The Relations of Canada and the United States.*] (New Haven: Yale University Press; Toronto: Ryerson Press; London: Humphrey Milford: Oxford University Press. For the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace: Division of Economics and History. 1939. Pp. xi, 514. Map. $3.00.)

As that huge undertaking, *The Economic and Social History of the World War*, drew to completion, its sponsor, the Economics and History Division of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, turned to another topic, not so vast and not so spectacular, but, as being the story of a success, not of a disaster, of truer inspirational value to humanity, *The Relations of Canada and the United States*. The present book is, the editor tells us, "the first volume in a group of works contributed by American historians to the historical section of the series".

The period covered is one of twenty-five years, from the annexation movement in Canada in 1849 to the more immediate aftermath of the Treaty of Washington. A quarter of a century has a position in chronology, and the treatment here accorded produces a volume of satisfactory size. Both editor and author offer arguments to show that the epoch has also an intrinsic unity of its own. What they say has force, and the type of public relationship between the United States and Canada which is here described may have reached its acme in the Treaty of Washington; but it did not reach its conclusion. There is little change of character till 1911 or 1917.

A suggestion to the sponsors of the series arises from this consideration, and is strengthened by others. The history presented in the volume is that of Freeman's dictum: politics and diplomacy, public opinion as affecting them, or being affected by them, and economics as incidental to all. But there was a vast deal more than this in the relations between the two countries, and we may expect that other volumes of the series

will treat those broader and deeper phases of North American life. Would it not be well, then, to give as an end-piece to each volume a fairly full conspectus of the scheme of publication as a whole?

Within the sphere assigned to it, the book is a sane and workmanlike study. Prejudice and partisanship are as much removed from the telling as they were inherent in the selfish and tricky manoeuvres of which the story as told. Only rarely does the author relieve his feelings by a flicker of sarcasm, scarcely ruffling the surface of undeviating objectivity. The inevitable result is a certain amount of matter-of-fact dullness. Numerous quotations from documents, speeches, newspaper articles, give zest to the tale, but in time, even the quotations become monotonous. The narrative is solidly informative rather than thrilling, but it has a cumulative effect of transporting the reader into the position of a contemporary with the contemporary's ready acquaintance with individuals and peoples.

Professor Shippee is a native of the United States, and fifty per cent of his story is Canadian history. Yet the Canadian reader will make the pleasant discovery that the book is remarkably free from those little missteps which he has come to associate with the external historian treading Canadian fields. Doubtless he will rub his eyes when he reads that Mederic Lanctôt was proprietor of the *Irish Canadian* newspaper (p. 221); he will note a printer's slip in the name of E. L. Montizambert (p. 196, n. 39); and he will recognise an error in the dating of the letter from Macdonald to Allen, assigned to 2 July, 1865 (p. 215). (The year should be 1866, and the letterbook is no. 9, not no. 11. Reference might have been made to C. P. Stacey's "A Fenian Interlude", in the *Canadian Historical Review*, XV, 133-154, which tells the diverting story of Michael Murphy's arrest and throws some light on the relations of American and Canadian Fenianism.) Also, he might expect that use would have been made of *The Elgin-Grey Papers*, edited by Sir Arthur G. Doughty and published in 1937 by the Public Archives of Canada in four substantial volumes. True, they belong to years preceding that in which Elgin played his most striking rôle on the present stage, the achievement of reciprocity in 1854.

JAMES F. KENNEY

Public Archives of Canada

Elgin-Grey Papers (1846-1852). Edited by Sir Arthur G. Doughty, K.B.E., C.M.G., LL.D. Four Volumes. (Ottawa: J. O. Patenaude. 1937. Pp. 1663.)

To students of Canadian history the private letters that passed between a former governor general and a British secretary of state are always interesting. They are very valuable when they deal with a crucial period in the nation's history; and especially when the former governor general was the Earl of Elgin and the secretary of state, Earl Grey.

It was a tribute to the scholarship of Sir Arthur Doughty that the papers were presented to him on the condition that they would be published under his editorship. On his retirement as Dominion archivist, Sir Arthur gave them to the Archives on the condition that the request of the donors as to editorship be carried out. He had scarcely begun the work when ill-health intervened and Miss Nora Story of the Archives staff continued the work according to his wishes. The result justifies the planning of Sir Arthur, the painstaking labors of Miss Story, and the assistance given by other scholars of Canadian history.

The letters appear in four volumes and are well arranged and indexed. Not only are the texts of the letters given but a wealth of newspaper comments is included as well as other documents dealing with the subjects discussed. These round out the picture of the period and give additional value to the work.

These letters shed new light on that difficult period in Canadian history during which the country was passing from the status of crown colony (or rather several of them) to that of a self-governing dominion. The bitter controversy on the losses of the rebellion of 1837, the struggle for responsible government, the annexationist movement—all are made clearer by a perusal of these pages.

The student of Canadian Catholic history finds much valuable information in the correspondence regarding colonization schemes, Irish immigration, and the annexationist agitation. The views of Lord Elgin on French Canadian colonization and on Canada's future status are particularly worthy of note. In a letter to Earl Grey he states:

> No one object in my opinion is so important, whether you seek to retain Canada as a Colony, or to fit her for independence and make her instinct with national life and vigor, (a result by no means less desirable than the former in so far as the interests of Great Britain are concerned) as the filling up of her vacant lands with a resident agricultural population. More especially is it of moment that the inhabitants of French origin should feel that every facility for settling on the land of their Fathers is given them with the cordial assent and concurrence of the British Govt. and its Representative—and that in the plans of settlement adopted their feelings and habits are consulted (p. 191).

The correspondence of the Earl of Elgin serves to show more clearly than before the debt that Canada owes to this enlightened representative of British rule. Personal feelings were given no place when the interests of the country were at stake. By diplomacy, by understanding, by his personal interest in all Canadian problems, he did much to strengthen the ties that bind Canada to the motherland.

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NOTES AND COMMENTS

The twenty-first annual meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association was held in the Hotel Pennsylvania, New York City, Friday to Monday, December 27-30, 1940. The program was announced in the last issue. Circumstances prevented Dr. Arlinghaus from attending the convention. In place of his paper, Friederich Engel-Janosi, Ph.D., of The Johns Hopkins University, read one on "Lord Acton's Idea of History."

His Excellency, the Most Reverend Francis J. Spellman was present at the joint session of the American Historical Association and the American Catholic Historical Association held at Keating Hall, Fordham University, on Sunday afternoon, December 29. The Reverend Robert I. Gannon, S.J., president of Fordham University, welcomed the guests, who filled spacious Keating Hall to capacity. The Reverend Wilfrid Parsons, S.J., Ph.D. acted as chairman of this session. Two papers were read, one by the Reverend Raymond Corrigan, S.J., Ph.D., of St. Louis University: "The Jesuits and Liberalism a Century Ago"; the other, by Ray A. Billington, Ph.D., of Smith College: "Organized Anti-Catholicism." After the session Fordham University was host at tea for members of the historical societies meeting at the Hotel Pennsylvania.

A complete account of the proceedings of the meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association will appear in the April issue.

The Reverend James A. Magner, S.T.D., recently appointed to the post of Procurator of the Catholic University of America, has been named Secretary-Treasurer of the *Catholic Historical Review* by the Most Reverend Rector of the University.

The October number of *The Harvard Theological Review* carries an article by Joannes Quasten, entitled: "'Vetus Superstitio et Nova Religio,' the Problem of *Refrigerium* in the Ancient Church of North Africa." The retention of the *refrigerium*, or funeral repast, illustrates the Church's missionary method of preserving folk customs. Funeral repasts were "tolerated because, at the end of classical antiquity they were little more than an expression of communion with the dead." Since they were the occasion for drunkenness and were very like pagan superstition, Ambrose forbade them, and Augustine, not without the employ of considerable adroitness, was able to secure their suppression among Catholics in North Africa. This is the first article of Dr. Quasten, associate professor in the School of Sacred Theology at the Catholic University of America, to appear in America. He brings to us the tradition of the illustrious Franz Dölger,

under whom he had the privilege of being trained. His readers will look forward to further studies in Christian archaeology from his pen.

In the same issue Francis Peabody Magoun, Jr. writes of "The Rome of Two Northern Pilgrims: Archbishop Sigeric of Canterbury and Abbot Nikolás of Munkathverá." The pilgrim-diaries of the Anglo-Saxon Archbishop and the Icelandic Benedictine are valuable on many counts, but especially for what they record concerning the sights of Rome in the late tenth and middle twelfth centuries.

Father Joseph Plumpe, Ph.D., of Josephinum College, has published an excellent article, "Ecclesia Mater," in the *Transactions of the American Philological Association* (Vol. LXX, 1939). He finds that the title, *Ecclesia Mater*, was in wide use by the end of the fourth century. In tracing back the term he shows that it was employed earlier in the Church in Africa: thirty times by Cyprian and several times by Tertullian. Even to them the title was not new. The Scriptures suggested it and perhaps peculiar usages of *mater* in pagan society may have contributed to its adoption among Christians in reference to the Church. The author raises the question whether the title was used even in Greek at an earlier date and promises a second paper.

Dom Germain Morin in a recent letter from Fribourg, Switzerland, expressed concern about the fate of the manuscript of the second volume of his edition of the works of Caesarius of Arles, which was at Maredsous in Belgium when the monks fled in May. He is now working at a French translation of the rule of St. Benedict.

In 1918 Wilhelm M. Peitz, S.J. defended the thesis that the *Liber Diurnus* was a formulary used in the papal chancery whose content largely antedated the pontificate of Gregory I. Previous authorities, especially Sickel, had held it to be a textbook whose models were taken from the register of Gregory I. In his *Das vorephesinische Symbol der Papstkanzlei* (*Miscellanea Historiae Pontificiae*, Rome and Freiburg im B., 1939) Father Peitz not only restates this thesis but also insists on the pre-Gregorian origin of the "*professiones fidei*" (formulas 73 and 85), whose date of composition he places before 431.

All authorities, however, do not agree with Peitz. Dom Cunibert Mohlberg, in the *Theologische Revue* (Vol. 38, Nos. 8, 9, 1939), defends the opinion that the *Liber Diurnus* is a canonical collection which originated in northern Italy and that it was not used in the papal chancery. Leo Santifaller in his "Zur Liber Diurnus Forschung" in the *Historische Zeitschrift* (Vol. 161, No. 3, 1940) agrees with Mohlberg. The formulas were used in less than fifteen percent of the papal diplomas up to 1099. The collection is certainly a canonical one. It may have been used as a textbook, although that appears improbable because of the many antiquated formulas it contains.

Volume XXVIII of *Islandica* (Cornell University Press, 1940) is like its twenty-seven predecessors the work of Halldór Hermannsson. It is a study of *Illuminated Manuscripts of the Jónsbók*, consisting of twenty-six pages of text followed by thirty-five plates. The *Jónsbók* is the name given the code prepared for Iceland in 1280 at the direction of King Magnus of Norway by Jón Einarsson. It remained the law of Iceland for four centuries; its popularity is attested by the existence of 200 manuscripts. The present study deals only with the illuminated manuscripts, principally those of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, since those of the mediaeval period were treated in Hermannsson's *Icelandic Illuminated Manuscripts of the Middle Ages*. The introduction of the new volume contains a variety of interesting and useful lore on the illumination of manuscripts.

Eloise Talcott Hibbert's *K'ang Hsi Emperor of China* [1662-1722] (Kegan Paul) is based in part on the writings of Jesuits who resided at the Court of Peking and served as advisers to the emperor.

The Illustrated Section of *The Social Studies* for November gives reproductions of the title pages of several pamphlets from the time of the Protestant Revolt and the Wars of Religion.

The Holy See has granted Salamanca a pontifical university authorized to confer degrees in theology and canon law. It will be housed in the Calatravas, offered for the purpose by the Augustinians.

Historical scholarship has suffered incalculable loss in the death of Monsignor Emile Lesne, dean of the theological faculty at the University of Lille; in that of Albert Erhard, professor emeritus of church history at the University of Bonn; and in that of Franz Dölger, successor to Erhard in the chair of church history at Bonn.

With the death on August 8 of Eileen Power, professor of economic history at the London School of Economics, England has lost one of its most distinguished mediaevalists.

Two interesting contributions to the history of Christian spirituality appeared in the April number of the *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library:* E. F. Jacob writes on "The Brethren of the Common Life," and F. P. Pickering publishes "Notes on Late Medieval German Tales in Praise of Docta Ignorantia."

Volume 37 of the Publications of the Catholic Record Society (London, 1940) begins the edition of the *Liber Ruber Venerabilis Collegii Anglorum de Urbe* with the *Annales Collegii*, Pars Prima: *Nomina Alumnorum, I. A.D. 1579-1630*. Wilfrid Kelly with several assistants edits the volume. Archbishop William Godfrey, former rector of the English College, writes the preface. The edition sets out to give a "diplomatic" transcript of the *Liber Ruber* and will replace Father Henry Foley's partial English trans-

lation entitled, *Diary of the English College*. After the *Constitutiones* of the College the first entry is that of Father Ralph Sherwin: Pater Rodulphus Sherwinus Annorum 29. Sacerdos Sacrae Theologiae studens dixit, atque tactis scripturis iurauit, se potius hodie quam cras paratum esse ad nutum Superiorum in Angliam ad animas iuuandas proficisci. Missus fuit in Angliam, et factus est MARTYR.

The annual reports of the Catholic Record Society are bound into the volume. A paper on "Norfolk House" by R. Cecil Wilton appears in the minutes for the meeting of 1936. Father Philip Hughes reported on "The Westminster Archives" at the meeting of 1937. His report was published in the *Dublin Review*. An effort is being made to preserve a number of documents in the Westminster Archives—among them the *Douai Diaries*—from falling to pieces.

The Tablet of October 26 began a brief series of selected excerpts from the original manuscript of Archbishop Ullathorne's autobiography, edited by Shane Leslie. The archbishop started work on his memoirs in 1868 and two years following his death in 1889 the first edition appeared under the editorship of Mother Drane of the Convent of Stone. Mr. Leslie is now engaged in bringing out an edition based on the original and complete manuscripts of Ullathorne. It is at present in press and will be published by Burns and Oates. The publication of the complete edition will add considerably to the data furnished in the abridged edition of 1891 on the history of the Church in Australia and in Great Britain before the restoration of the hierarchy in 1850.

The September issue of *Church History* carries an article on "The Development of the Canon Law since 1500 A. D.," by Vivan A. Peterson. The author gives a brief summary of the development of the law of the Church from the earliest times down to and including the promulgation of the Code in May, 1918. Roughly, half of the article is a discussion of the evolution of the canon law within the Church of England's provinces of Canterbury and York from the break with Rome in the sixteenth century. The author concludes by a brief comment on the subject of law as enacted in the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States. The early pages of the article make considerable use of Archbishop Cicognani's *Canon Law*.

A bibliographical article by Clyde L. Grose in the December number of *Modern History* is devoted to "Studies of 1931-40 on British History, 1660-1760."

The Times Literary Supplement for October 5 carries a biographical article on J. A. Symonds, the historian of the Renaissance, whose birth occurred a hundred years ago.

A *General Index, 1924-1938* (*Volumes I-XV*) of the *Australasian Catholic Record* has been published.

The establishment of the National Archives in Washington within the last decade, plus the inauguration of an excellent service for use therein, has turned an unusual amount of attention to the subject of archives. One of the most useful works brought to the fore by the activity is the *Arrangement and Description of Archives* originally published by the Dutch archivists, Muller, Feith, and Fruin, in 1898 and subsequently translated into several languages. The work was recently translated into English for the first time from the second Dutch edition (1920) by Arthur H. Leavitt, of the staff of the National Archives, and was published by the H. W. Wilson Co. (New York, 1940). It is characterized by scholarly treatment, exactness in definition, and precision in terminology. It deals with the origin and nature of archival depositories, the arrangement and description of documents, the inventory, and the use of terms and signs.

"What Records Shall We Preserve?", a paper by Philip C. Brooks, has been reproduced as No. 9 of the *Staff Information Circulars of the National Archives* (14 pp.).

A translation of a manual on Polish archival practices entitled "Schedule of Internal Work in Modern Archives," by Ryszard Przelaskowski, has been reproduced as No. 10 of the *Staff Information Circulars of the National Archives* (39 pp.).

The National Archives is co-operating with the American University in inaugurating a program for the training of archivists, which includes courses on the history and administration of archives, American and European administrative history, and the administration of current records and record systems. In addition, the National Archives has again made available several in-service training courses, which include seminars on the arrangement and description of archival material, directed by Solon J. Buck, and on research materials in the National Archives, directed by Philip M. Hamer.

At one of the luncheon conferences of the recent meeting of the American Historical Association Mr. Buck urged that greater attention be paid to historical method and administrative history in our graduate schools with a view of preparing students for positions in archives and for research in archival material.

The First Annual Report of the Commission on American Citizenship, recently issued by the Catholic University of America Press, contains the constitution of the commission and information on the progress toward a model curriculum and special textbooks for elementary schools. Much material has already been published through the Catholic Messenger Magazines. Further projects of the commission are discussed. The *Report* is submitted by the Most Reverend Joseph M. Corrigan, president, and Robert H. Connery, Ph.D., director of the Commission.

The November issue of *Catholic Action* publishes as the biographical section of its study outline on Catholic citizenship an outline on "Charles Carroll of Carrollton, One of the Nation's 'First Citizens'". A considerable bibliography is given for the other sections of the outline ("The Catholic Citizen Should Be the Best Citizen" and "Individual and Organization Interest in Good Citizenship"), but no reading matter on Carroll is listed. The December outline on "The Catholic Family" does give a bibliographical reference for "The Abell-Spalding Family," which is set up as an example of Catholic action.

On December 12 the Boylston Branch of the Boston Public Library was formally re-named the Monsignor Arthur T. Connolly Branch in honor of the late pastor who was for many years a member of the library's board of trustees. Among those present at the ceremony in which Mayor Tobin unveiled a bronze tablet were Ellery Sedgwick, a fellow trustee, and Milton E. Lord, librarian of the Boston Public Library.

Joseph M. Murphy, director of the Bureau of Public Relations at the Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C., has been named one of three Trustees of the Dyer Memorial Library in Abington, Mass., his former place of residence. Established by the will of Marietta W. Dyer, whose ancestors were one of the first three families to settle in Abington in the middle of the seventeenth century, it stands as a memorial to the family which has since been actively associated with the affairs of the town. This will provides for "A historical and biographical library which shall contain as complete a set of local Massachusetts histories as can be obtained, in addition to general histories of the United States and of the World, and . . . . manuscripts, maps, plans, pictures, and historical articles . . . ." A large building of colonial design has already been erected in Abington and the nucleus of the collection installed.

The November number of *Social Justice Review* has the following notes dealing with the history of German immigrants to America: "On the Financial Condition of Some German Immigrants"; "Forgotten Promoters of the Catholic Press"; "Immigrants on the Land"; "Civil War Chaplain [Hermann Bokum]".

An abstract of a thesis by Sister M. Callista Campion, B.V.M. on *The Life and Works of John Rothensteiner* has been published at the University of Illinois. The author had access to a large amount of unpublished source material on the life of Father Rothensteiner.

A list of 1890 *Items from the Library of Dr. J. Franklin Jameson*, offered for sale, is obtainable from L. F. Stock, Trustee, Estate of Dr. J. F. Jameson, 1017 Michigan Avenue, N.E., Washington, D. C.

Charleston, S. C., A Haven for the Children of Admiral de Grasse (Charleston, S. C., 1940) is a sixteen-page booklet by Agatha Aimar Simmons.

The Canadian Historical Review in its September number prints a list of "Canadian Historical Museum Collections" compiled by Gwendolen M. Kidd and a list of "Graduate Theses in Canadian History, and Related Subjects."

The Public Archives of Canada has published a sixty-nine page volume entitled, *The Oakes Collection, New Documents by Lahontan concerning Canada and Newfoundland*, edited with an introduction by Gustave Lanctot, keeper of Public Records. The documents appear in both French and English and there are several plates.

The Report of the Public Archives [of Canada] for the year 1939 (Ottawa, 1940) is available at fifty cents.

The Report of the Annual Meeting (May 22-24) of the Canadian Historical Association, published by the University of Toronto Press, contains twelve papers read at the meeting. The presidential address of J. B. Brebner deals with "Canadianism". Two of the papers concern "The Frontier" in Canada, and Arthur S. Aiton writes of "Latin-American Frontiers".

The seventh annual meeting of the Canadian Catholic Historical Association was held in Sherbrooke, P. Q., on October 1 and 2. The attendance was remarkably large, and in every way the meeting was a success. This success was in large part due to the enthusiastic support of the Most Reverend Philippe Desranleau, Coadjutor Bishop of Sherbrooke; to the hospitality and efficient help of the Superior and the Faculty of the Seminary of St. Charles Borromeo, where the sessions were held; and to the hard work of the members of the local committees, of which the chairmen were the Reverend Maurice O'Bready, Mr. T. G. Walsh, Mme An. Codère, Miss Gladys Mullins, and Mrs. Arthur Coté.

In addition to the joint business meeting, there were three events in which the two sections of the Association acted together, the open meeting on the first evening, a historical excursion around Sherbrooke and its neighborhood on the afternoon of the second day, and the annual dinner on the second evening. At the open meeting the president general, the Reverend Lionel Groulx, gave his presidential address. Other speakers were His Excellency Bishop Desranleau; the Very Reverend Arthur Sideleau, superior of the seminary; and the Reverend J. A. Gallagher, C.SS.R., who very kindly took the place of Colonel the Most Reverend C. L. Nelligan, Bishop of Pembroke and chief of Canadian Catholic chaplain service, whose military duties compelled him to be absent. At the dinner the Abbé Groulx presided, and the speakers were His Excellency Bishop Desranleau; M. Joseph Labrecque, mayor of Sherbrooke; M. Henri Coursier, consul general of France in Canada; Mr. John T. Hackett, K.C., of Montreal and Stanstead; the Hon. Judge Hector Verret; the Hon. W. H. McGuire, K.C.,

incoming president general; the Reverend Elie J. Auclair, veteran man of letters of the Eastern Townships; and Dr. J. F. Kenney, secretary of the English Section.

At the sessions of the English Section the following papers were read: The Reverend Brother Alfred, F.S.C., LL.D.: "The Windham or Oak Ridges Settlement of French Royalist Refugees, York County, Upper Canada, 1798"; W. L. Scott, K.C., LL.D.: "Glengarry's Representatives in the Legislative Assembly of Upper Canada, 1812-1841"; Miss Gladys Mullins: "English-speaking Priests who evangelized the Eastern Townships"; the Reverend T. J. Walsh, S.J.: "Pioneer English-speaking Catholics in the Eastern Townships"; the Very Reverend Henry Carr, C.S.B.: "The Very Reverend J. R. Teefy, C.S.B., LL.D."; Major the Reverend J. R. O'Gorman, J.C.D.: "Canadian Catholic Chaplain Service in the Great War, 1914-1919".

In the French Section a series of papers was given on the general topic of the difficulties of the Catholic Church in French Canada under British Rule, of which the initial study was the presidential address of the Abbé Groulx, "La situation religieuse au Canada au lendemain de la conquête". These followed: Séraphin Mation, D. ès L.: "Le problème voltairien"; the Very Reverend Michel Couture, L. ès L.: "Le problème mennaisien" (the influence of La Mennais); the Reverend Maurice O'Bready, L. ès L.: "Le problème démocratique": the Reverend Arthur Maheux, L. ès L., D.Th.: "Le problème protestant". Other papers read in the French Section: the Reverend Elie J. Auclair, S.Th.D., J.C.D.; "Le rôle de l'Eglise dans la pénétration des cantons de l'Est"; the Reverend Léon Pouliot, S.J.: "Les états mystiques chez les convertis indiens de la Nouvelle-France"; Mlle Marie Claire Daveluy: "Comment expliquer Jeanne Le Ber".

At a special and very important session, under the chairmanship of Major the Rev. J. R. O'Gorman, arrangements were initiated for the preservation and organization of records of Canadian Catholic service in the present war.

His Eminence Cardinal Villeneuve and the Hon. W. H. McGuire are the honorary president and president general, respectively, of the Association for the coming year. The Reverend H. J. Somers, Ph.D. is president of the English Section, and Victor Morin, LL.D., of the French Section.

A note in *Le bulletin des recherches historiques* for September treats briefly of "Le premier manuel d'histoire du Canada." It was prepared by Joseph-François Perrault between 1832 and 1836 under the title of *Abrégé de l'histoire du Canada*. It went through three or four editions in spite of the fact that it was too difficult for school children.

At the meetings of the Ibero-American Institute of the Catholic University of America held this fall the Reverend Dr. Edwin Ryan and Dr.

M. R. P. McGuire discussed their trip to South American educational centers last summer; the Reverend Dr. Espinosa Polit, S.J., of Ecuador gave a lecture on classical studies in that country; and Mr. Antonio Santa Cruz read a paper on aspects of the culture of the Indians in the Goajira Peninsula, Colombia.

Brown University has undertaken a project for microfilming rare material on Latin-American culture, with the purpose of becoming a world reference center for students of early Latin-American civilization.

A brochure commemorating the tenth anniversary of the Quivira Society, 1929-1939 may be obtained from the society's headquarters at the University of New Mexico, Albuquerque. The Society has published ten volumes of English translations of rare or unpublished Spanish sources for Southwest history. Its membership has grown from a few founders to nearly five hundred. Members purchase the publications of the Society at reduced rates. They have no other obligations.

An illustrated booklet of eighty-two pages, *Coronado's Seven Cities*, prepared by George P. Hammond has been issued by the United States Coronado Exposition Commission (Albuquerque, New Mexico, 1940). It is a popular account of the Expedition in twelve brief chapters. A scientific presentation of the Expedition will be available in the twelve volumes edited by Mr. Hammond and issued by the Coronado Quarto Centennial Commission of New Mexico.

In the November issue of *The Santa Fean* an article by Elizabeth B. Patterson of the Catholic Association for International Peace commemorates the centenary of the birth of Adolph Francis Alphonse Bandelier, historian, ethnologist, and archaeologist of the Southwest. Bandelier was born in Berne, Switzerland on August 6, 1840. At an early age he moved to America with his family and was brought up in Highland, Illinois. From around 1875 to his death in Spain in 1914 he conducted research expeditions into Mexico, Bolivia, and Peru and published a considerable number of works on the history and ethnology of the Indian tribes of the Southwest. While on a tour of Mexico in 1881 he was converted to the Catholic Church. For two years he taught at Columbia University but resigned in 1906 to accept a position with the Hispanic Society of America. In 1913 he left the United States to continue his research in the archives of Seville, Simancas, and Madrid. It was in the course of this journey that Bandelier died at Seville on March 18, 1914. He published *The Delight Makers* in 1890, which was followed by *The Gilded Man*, and in 1910 his last work, *The Island of Titicaca and Koati*. All through the active years of his scientific work he kept his "Journal", a storehouse of valuable data for the expeditions which he led. The "Journal" was willed by his wife to the School of American Research. A manuscript of his on "The Early

History of the Colonization and the Missions of Sonora, Chihuahua, New Mexico, and Arizona up to the Year 1790" is preserved in the Vatican Archives.

The August number of *The Hispanic American Historical Review* is devoted to the history of the Portuguese world in commemoration of the eighth century of Portugal's existence. Dr. João de Bianchi, Portuguese Minister in Washington, contributes a brief article: "Portugal Celebrates Eight Centuries of Existence, 1140-1940"; Charles E. Nowell writes on "Vasco da Gama—First Count of Vidigueira"; Manoel S. Cardozo, on "The Collection of the Fifths in Brazil, 1695-1709"; Arthur P. Whitaker, on "José Silvestre Rebello, the First Diplomatic Representative of Brazil in the United States"; Bailie W. Diffie, on "Some Foreign Influences in Contemporary Brazilian Politics". Roscoe H. Hill publishes a contemporary translation of a letter sent by Queen Maria I of Portugal, who offered to protect American vessels with the Portuguese squadron. A facsimile of the letter appears as the frontispiece of the issue. Chester L. Guthrie of the National Archives has some valuable notes on projects under way concerning Brazilian history. William B. Greenlee of the Newberry Library devotes sixteen pages to "A Descriptive Bibliography of the History of Portugal".

Of great interest to the history of the Benedictines of the ancient city of Olinda, Brazil, is the recent publication of an hitherto unedited eighteenth century work by Friar Miguel Arcanjo da Anunciação, *Cronica do mosteiro de S. Bento de Olinda até 1763* (Pernambuco, 1940). Thanks are due for this undertaking to Olímpio Costa Júnior, who transcribed the manuscript original, to Afonso d'Escragnolle Taunay, the well-known director of the Museu Paulista of São Paulo, for a number of interesting biographical notes on the author, and to Dom Bonifácio Jansen, abbot of the present Olinda monastery of the order, who has supplied much information on his early predecessors. Requests for the book may be sent to the Instituto Arqueológico, Histórico e Geográfico Pernambucano, Recife, Brazil.

Edited by Professor J. Joaquin Pardo, the *Boletín del Archivo General del Gobierno*, of Guatemala City, has been engaged in the laudable task of publishing important documents existing in the Guatemala State Archives. Among the contents of the October 1940 issue of this bulletin may be singled out the several eighteenth century reports dealing with the Franciscan missions of Parac and Pantasmas (pp. 3-15).

In the June 1940 number of the *Revista del Departamento de Historia y Hemeroteca Nacional del Ministerio de Instrucción Pública*, of El Salvador, appears a transcription (pp. 107-185) of a manuscript in the possession of Father Santiago Malaina, S.J., entitled "Actas del congreso del

estado de San Salvador. Libro segundo (Sesiones: Abril 17 — Mayo 29, 1824)". The importance of this work for the history of El Salvador is readily apparent.

The government of the colony of Moçambique (Portuguese East Africa) is to be congratulated upon its excellent quarterly which appears under the title of *Moçambique documentário trimestral*. Although the review encompasses a variety of interests, at least one article of an historical nature is published in each issue. In the March 1940 number, for example, Raymond Decary has written on the subject, "Os portugueses em Madagascar no século XVI" (pp. 5-32); in the June 1940 number, A. Fontoura da Costa has contributed "Para a história da fortaleza de Moçambique" (pp. 9-48), which includes two letters from King John III of Portugal to Dom João de Castro.

Now in the third number of its first year (1939-1940), the *Revista Municipal*, published by the Lisbon City Council, takes its place, not only in the quality of its articles but also in the good taste of its format, as one of the best reviews appearing anywhere in the Portuguese language. Most of the contributions naturally concern the history and life of Lisbon itself; but so closely connected have been, and are, the activities of the capital of Portugal with the rest of the country and with the colonies that the general student will find much of interest in the pages of this periodical.

In its September 29, 1940 edition, the *Jornal do Brasil*, of Rio de Janeiro, proposed the creation of a chair of Jesuit studies in a leading Brazilian university. As is well known, the contributions of the Society of Jesus to Brazil, especially during the colonial period, are noteworthy; and the fourth centenary of the Jesuits is, for that reason, being widely observed in that South American country.

Although intended primarily to publicize the two centennials of Portugal, which are being celebrated this year, the *Revista dos Centenários*, of Lisbon, has appropriately published a number of articles of scholarly interest. Among the studies, appearing in Vol. II, Numbers 19-20 of the magazine, may be mentioned Father Moreira das Neves' study, "Nossa Senhora da Conceição na restauração de Portugal".

In the January-March (1940) issue of the *Anales de la Universidad de Santo Domingo* (Ciudad Trujillo, R.P.), Dr. Antonio Cuesta Mendoza has called the attention of scholars to certain deficiencies in Father Cipriano de Utrera's *Universidades de Santiago de la Paz y de Santo Tomás de Aquino y Seminario Conciliar de la Ciudad de Santo Domingo de la Isla Española* (Santo Domingo, 1932). It is to be hoped that other works will soon appear on the history of higher education in the Dominican Republic.

Documents: Dr. Franklin's Letter to Abbé Morellet (*General Magazine and Historical Chronicle*, Oct.).—An Apostolic Letter of His Holiness, Pius XII by Divine Providence, Pope, to His Beloved Son, Wlodimir Ledochowski, Superior General, on the Occasion of the Fourth Centenary of the Foundation of the Society of Jesus. (*America*, Oct. 12).—Memoirs of California by K. T. Khlebnikov. Tr. from the Russian by Anatole G. Mazour (*Pacific Historical Review*, Sept.).—*Anniversaries:* The sesquicentennial of the first foundation of Carmelite nuns in the United States was observed on the site of the original Carmel at Port Tobacco, Charles County, Maryland, on October 20.—The Grand Seminary of Montreal observed its centenary on October 9. On that occasion a new wing, gift of the alumni, was blessed.—On September 14, 1840 Blessed John Gabriel Perboyre, C.M. met a martyr's death at Wuchang. His centenary was observed throughout China this fall.—The Mission Helpers of the Sacred Heart observed the fiftieth anniversary of their foundation in a three-day celebration, October 16-18, at Towson, Maryland.—The sesquicentennial anniversary of the coming of the Sulpicians to the United States and the founding of St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, will be observed in 1941.

BRIEF NOTICES

ANDREWS, CHARLES M. *The Colonial Period of American History.* Vol. IV: *England's Commercial and Colonial Policy.* (New Haven: Yale University Press; London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 1938. Pp. xi, 477. $4.00.) That Professor Andrews in spite of several attacks of serious illness was able to complete his *magnum opus* within the scope he had planned, is cause for rejoicing among students of colonial history. Their joy and gratitude will be the greater if it is possible for the scholarly author to add a volume or two to the series. His final note, for example, suggests ample material for a volume which would offer an interpretation of the American Revolution in keeping with Professor Andrews' thesis. This would be the more welcome because the student will not find in the four volumes now completed a step-by-step discussion of the long historic process which evolved to split the Anglo-Saxon race into two separate nations. The mature scholar will, it is true, be given some understanding from the premises established, of how that which was English slowly and imperceptibly merged into that which was American; but what is missing to complete the picture, at least for the general reader, is some showing of the democracy which was maturing here and which was bound to clash with the aristocratic society which existed in England.

The first three volumes of this series (reviewed in these pages) are concerned with the settlements as viewed from the shores of England and as contributing assets to the mother country. The present volume traces the beginnings of English commercial policy, its evolution, its administration, and its attempted enforcement. Within this pattern fall naturally considerations of Dutch rivalry, the customs service, vice-admiralty procedure, the work of the Board of Trade and the historic significance of mercantilism. This institutional phase of American colonial history was long ago recognized by Professor Andrews as one not only neglected, especially by those to whom the more dramatic episodes of the struggling settlements in America told the entire story, but as a phase the study of which he conceived to be essential for the proper and full understanding of that part of the British empire which happened to lie overseas. In this treatment Professor Andrews is at his best. (LEO F. STOCK)

BOYD, CATHERINE E. *The French Renaissance.* Illustrative Set No. 3. Museum Extension Publications. (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts. 1940. 42 Plates. Text Pp. 52. $5.20.) We have here the third in a series of illustrative surveys of different periods in the story of human culture. The set is composed of forty-two plates 12x16½ inches, each of which carries an explanatory caption. Speaking of the French renaissance Professor McIlwain of Harvard in his brief Foreword states: "Nothing could be more effective in making it all clearer to us than the series of well-selected illustrations given here, accom-

panied as they are with comment which relates them to the whole life of the time." An examination of the pictures and the intelligent explanation given of them by Dr. Boyd of the Division of Museum Extension brings a ready assent to the judgment of Professor McIlwain.

Dominating the set are the pictures of the best portraits of some of the famous men and women of France in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Francis I, Marguerite of Angoulême, Calvin, Catherine de' Medici, Henry II, Mary Stuart, Rabelais and Montaigne are all here. French obligations to Italian inspiration in sculpture, painting, architecture and thought are well represented, with architecture leading in the number and attractiveness of its samples. This set, as well as that of *Elizabethan England* which preceded it, will be welcomed by teachers and students of history alike. Such enterprises as this of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts render easier the difficult task of making history live. (JOHN TRACY ELLIS)

BROOKS, PHILIP COOLIDGE. *Diplomacy and the Borderlands. The Adams-Onís Treaty of 1819.* [University of California Publications in History, Vol. XXIV.] (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1939. Pp. x, 262. $2.00.) For years students of diplomatic history referred to one of America's early territorial settlements as the "Florida Treaty of 1819." Samuel Flagg Bemis gave a new name to the same document. Recognizing its broad significance in our national development, he called it the "Transcontinental Treaty." Dr. Brooks has finally presented here the complete story of the negotiation of that treaty, designating it as the "Adams-Onís Treaty to give credit to the diplomatists who achieved a solution to complex problems of many years' standing" (p. vi). The treaty negotiations are set forth as the conclusion to an intelligent consideration of preceding events. Spanish-American differences after 1803 involved questions of claims, commerce, land tenure, international law, boundaries and territorial ambitions, as well as numerous minor problems. These problems concerned France and Britain almost as much as they did Spain and the United States. Successive attempts to settle them came to naught until John Quincy Adams, United States secretary of state, and Luis de Onís, Spanish minister to the United States, succeeded in negotiating this broad settlement of outstanding problems. The treaty, among other things, ceded Florida to the United States, defined the western boundary of Louisiana, bolstered American claims to the Oregon territory, and laid down principles of international law.

Dr. Brooks has done an admirable job of research in American, Spanish, French and British archives. He has woven the complicated threads of post-Napoleonic international diplomacy into an intelligible and convincing pattern—a fabric that carries the impress of historical truth and accuracy. (JOHN J. MENG)

CASTAÑEDA, CARLOS E., and JACK AUTREY ADAMS (Eds.). *Guide to the Latin American Manuscripts in the University of Texas Library.* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1939. Pages x, 216. $3.00.) This volume has been edited for the University of Texas and the Committee on Latin American Studies of the American Council of Learned Societies. The University of

Texas has attained a position of special importance among those institutions of this country which are devoting particular attention to Latin America, and a glance at the present *Guide* will reveal why. The library is especially rich in manuscript material dealing with Mexico, a great deal of which is of paramount value. The catalogue here presented will be of interest to students of Mexican history, while containing material on other Spanish-American regions also, besides Florida, Texas, New Mexico and Spain. There are also two pages of items on the Philippines. (EDWIN RYAN)

CHEKE, MARCUS. *Dictator of Portugal. A Life of the Marquis of Pombal, 1699-1782.* (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, Ltd. 1938. Pp. viii, 315. 12*s.* 6*d.*) The reader's mind at once turns to the present premier of Portugal when he scans the title of this volume, and to the able Dr. Salazar the author pays his compliments in the Preface. However, it is not Salazar but Pombal who provides the subject of this interesting biography. Mr. Cheke has appended a brief unclassified bibliography, but other than that there is not the indication of sources which the critical reader wishes to see. It is not particularly reassuring to learn that a certain James Murphy who wrote *Travels in Portugal* is authority for the statement that the patriarch's church cost £144,000 a year; nor that we are asked to take a story quoted by Southey in his time that a ceremony in the same church was postponed "until it could be ascertained whether, on a similar occasion, the Holy Father made use of a buckle, or a button" (p. 11). Further, the *Travel Diaries* of William Beckford who visited Lisbon shortly before the French Revolution and heard from an aged Italian priest that King John V spent hours in luxurious retirement at a nunnery, is hardly stout evidence when we reflect that John V died in 1750. These remarks are not intended to demonstrate that Mr. Cheke has not consulted good primary sources, for he has; our chief complaint is that he has relied in too many instances upon doubtful sources and in other instances has not cited in full the authentic records.

Mr. Cheke's story is a good one and he has told it well. However, apart from the judicious and balanced account of Pombal's administrative genius, the reviewer believes that the author is weakest in his failure to present the marquis in his intellectual *milieu*. There is little or nothing of Pombal's ideology, of his theories on religion, enlightened monarchical government, etc. After all, Pombal was a man of his age and shared the scepticism and semi-rationalism then current in Europe, but of all this Cheke says little. For example, Pombal's struggle with the Jesuits, which is quite rightly the heart of the whole book, was approached not only as a "nationalist" statesman (p. 133), but also as a "rationalist" philosopher; again his hatred of Father Malagrida (p. 154) was motivated by a personal bitterness, true, but also by a hatred for much of which Father Malagrida represented, apart from the sheer superstition involved (p. 154). On page 206 one catches a glimpse of Pombal's intellectual bents when the censorship board was allowed to license the entry of the works of Voltaire and Rousseau into Portugal; but the difficulty is that it is only a glimpse.

Mr. Cheke discusses the case of the Jesuits in considerable detail, and in that lies the main merit of the book since it gives the reader a rather full and

objective analysis of the origin, development and sad finale of their battle with Pombal. While there is nothing especially new in his treatment, it does provide the general reader, who will never trouble to read the tale in the more scholarly works, with a reliable account of the tragedy.

The reviewer noted the following slips. One should read "John V" for "John IV" (p. 11); doubtless the author meant John V's "last" confession on his death-bed rather than his "first" (p. 47); priests are "ordained", not "consecrated" (p. 204). Were there 22,000 Jesuits in 1758? (p. 109). Finally, the reader would be interested to learn the source of the astonishing stories about the Portuguese government's bribes of the Roman cardinals described on page 131. The volume is furnished with an adequate index. (JOHN TRACY ELLIS)

CONSILIA, SISTER MARY, O.P. *Catholic Sociology*. (New York, P. J. Kenedy & Sons. 1939. Pp. xviii, 364. 75c.) The title of this book is misleading, as it is not sociology in any strict sense of the word. It is concerned, rather, with social philosophy, which is something quite different. In other words, the book is strong in its treatment of the principles of philosophy and weak in its discussion of social conditions.

The aim of this work is to introduce sound Catholic philosophy into the high school curriculum, a purpose which rightfully evokes enthusiasm. The author is well equipped to write a basic text of this nature because of her training in scholastic philosophy and her wide experience in teaching pre-college students.

The format is pleasing, the type good, and there are enlivening examples given to illustrate solid points of principle. The author shows skill in adapting her material to the high school age level. Her volume may be considered a successful textbook in the pioneer work of applying social philosophy to the confused world of the adolescent. (MARY ELIZABETH WALSH)

COULTER, E. MERTON (Ed.). *The Course of the South to Secession, An Interpretation by Ulrich Bonnell Phillips*. (New York: D. Appleton–Century Co. 1939. Pp. xi, 176. $2.50.) No better eulogy to Professor Phillips can be constructed than this slim collection of lectures and one article edited by Professor Coulter and published for the American Historical Association, which "represent the nearest approach he ever made to purely interpretative writing" (p. ix). The Beveridge Memorial Fund Committee has partly discharged an obligation, in causing to be printed among its volumes relative to the southern background of the Civil War, the substance of the ideas of the man principally responsible for the conception of their project, and largely responsible for the existence of the fund which they administer. All who knew Professor Phillips as a careful scholar or helpful teacher, or in other words all those who had any reason to know about southern sectionalism, have had reason to regret the passing in 1934 of the clearest historical mind that ever comprehended a distinct phase of American history. This book contains the best of his writing, produced when he had found the leisure to draw upon the rich store of scholarship which he had built up over thirty years.

Phillips was a disciple of Turner, but it can hardly be said that he owed much more than a sense of direction to this master. Having devoted himself to a thorough exposition of the materials of southern history, he had arrived, in the last decade of his life, at a point where he could elaborate upon the "Central Theme of Southern History." He had convinced himself that sectional consciousness did not rest upon simple economic differences, nor upon the political ambitions of southern statesmen; rather it developed out of a "Question of Ethics," and "An Answer of Race," the moral issue provided by the existence of the Negro in southern life. It is to be regretted, of course, that we have only a fragment of the work that was to document this interpretation; but if Phillips's students carry on with enough of his insight, then there may be reason to list this volume with other fragments which are called classics. (JOHN T. FARRELL)

DAVIS, ROSE MARY. *The Good Lord Lyttleton. A Study in Eighteenth Century Politics and Culture.* (Bethlehem, Pa.: Times Publishing Co. 1939. Pp. ix, 443. $2.50.) George Lyttleton (1709-1773) was not one of the great men of eighteenth century England, but he was certainly one of the most representative. Like Horace Walpole, he knew everybody worth knowing; and he did everything worth doing. Through the four hundred pages of this biography, which is a Columbia University dissertation, Lord Lyttleton moves against the backdrop of his times as an actor conscious of the important part he desires to play. He is a statesman sincerely concerned with injustice in high places and fighting, often in vain, for needed reforms. He is a man of letters, admiring and imitating the neo-classic writers, but influenced by the changing tastes which reveal him as a typical mid-century gentleman facing the typical mid-century dilemma.

The copious documentation testifies to comprehensive and thorough research; every possible source — particularly the discoveries of recent scholarship — has been tapped for aid. Besides, access to unpublished letters and documents has enabled Miss Davis to correct the numerous errors in Robert Phillimore's *Memoirs and Correspondence of George Lord Lyttleton* (1845) and in Dr. A. V. Rao's *A Minor Augustan* (1934) and to reinterpret his personality. The result of all this painstaking investigation is a really definitive biography. The bibliography and the index are excellent.

Unfortunately, the encyclopedic nature of this study has too often crushed the author's style. A single sentence is made to carry the load of two or three. Excessive and irrelevant material sometimes halts the reader's interest or distracts his attention. The literary value of the biography would be increased by relentless excision and careful proof-reading. (FRANCIS E. LITZ)

DENIS-BOULET, NOËLE M. *La Carrière politique de Sainte Catherine de Sienne.* (Paris: Desclée, De Brouwer & Cie. 1939. Pp. 219. 25 fr.) M^me^ Boulet (the eldest daughter of the French painter, Maurice Denis) has produced an interesting and well-informed sketch of the political career of the great Dominican tertiary and mystic of Siena. Professedly popular in style, with five illustrations outside the text, her book is no mere digest of learned tomes, but an attempt at objective interpretation, with occasional new view-

points. The author has a good knowledge of documents, and this prompts her to take issue with so eminent an authority as Robert Fawtier on several matters of detail; but she agrees with him in rejecting the tradition that Catherine miraculously learned to write near the end of her life (a tradition accepted by Edmund Gardner). All the saint's writings were dictated to secretaries. Of her 382 extant letters, the greater part have to do with spiritual topics, but some, especially those addressed to high personages, treat of public affairs; these are invaluable sources of her political activities. Until M. Dupré-Theseider completes his critical edition of the letters (many of which have been mutilated), and some scholar issues a critical edition of Catherine's "Dialogue", no definitive study of the saint's life is possible.

The most significant sections of the book under review are the introduction, dealing with the results of previous research, and the last three chapters, containing a discussion of Catherine's political ideas and influence. A defect in the plan of the work is the excessive amount of space devoted to a portrayal of the historical background (two chapters). The author's attitude toward Catherine is congenial but objective: she expresses admiration for a feminine saint who combined rare mystical gifts with a most unusual outward activity; but she reveals that there was nothing very original about Catherine's political ideas, and that the influence actually exercised by her on such popes as Gregory XI and Urban VI was less than has generally been supposed. Raymond of Capua, her spiritual director and biographer, was responsible for the creation of the legend tending to exaggerate the saint's achievements in the political field. Of Catherine's sincere desire to serve the church of her day, there can be no doubt, but her efforts in this direction were often unavailing. M^me^ Boulet is extremely sympathetic to the Avignonese papacy, and regards the term "Babylonian Captivity" a misnomer; but few will agree with her criticism of Ludwig Pastor's *History of the Popes* as "insuffisante et tendancieuse" in its treatment of this period (p. 61).

The book is well printed, and provided with footnotes, but lacks an index. (Raymond J. Gray)

Dorn, Walter L. *Competition for Empire, 1740-1763.* (New York: Harper & Bros. 1940. Pp. xii, 426. $3.75.) With the volume under review the excellent new general history, *The Rise of Modern Europe,* being edited by Professor William L. Langer of Harvard University has reached number six in the projected twenty volumes. In general, Professor Dorn of Ohio State University has maintained the high standard set by his predecessors in the series. Every student of the mid-eighteenth century will be grateful for the extensive and critical bibliography which takes proper note of periodical literature as well as recent monographs. The seventy illustrations supplied from contemporary pictures likewise enhance the work. To the reviewer's mind the chapter on militarism is especially good. There has been a need of greater emphasis upon the military systems of the century in general histories, rather than the customary weary recitation of battles and campaigns.

Professor Dorn clears away some old cobwebs which have clung to the period, *e.g.,* the secondary importance of the feud of the ladies against Frederick II in causing the Seven Years' War (p. 292). Maria Theresa, Elizabeth

of Russia, and the Pompadour had no time for the lord of Potsdam, but it is not accurate to picture them advancing to an international conflict to spite the king. Similarly the rôle of the Pompadour in the framing of the Franco-Austrian alliance is rightly reduced to proper proportions (p. 299). The relative unimportance of the papacy in the great struggle between Austria and Prussia for dominance in central Europe and of England and France for mastery beyond the seas is reflected in the fact that the papacy is not so much as mentioned in the entire volume. One might fairly ask why no effort was made to demonstrate the Catholic position on the Enlightenment as evidenced in the recent study of Palmer, *Catholics and Unbelievers in the Eighteenth Century*. The unfavorable side of the picture receives ample treatment in some severe strictures on the clergy of the period as, for example, the remarks that through clerical education Spaniards were rendered "timid, over-scrupulous and irresolute" (p. 37). Readers of this journal will quite likely not subscribe to Professor Dorn's view that we owe the Enlightenment our gratitude for "its courageous effort to emancipate mankind from the fetters of authority and tradition" (p. 180). The reviewer would take serious exception likewise with the view that the religious interpretation of life with its belief in authority and man's spiritual nature are "contrary to the postulates on which a solid edifice of social science could be erected" (p. 190). More examples of this kind could be cited. It must suffice to indicate that the "purified Catholicism of modern times" distinctly does not rely on the *subjective* validity of its religious message (p. 199, italics mine).

These criticisms are in no way meant to destroy the impression that Professor Dorn has, in the main, done a fine piece of work. The reviewer missed the study of Maximin Piette, *John Wesley in the Evolution of Protestantism*, from the bibliography. Several slips were noted: "af" for "of" (p. 232); "then" for "than" (p. 375); "1800" for "1900" (p. 400). The reference made to the article of John J. Meng is incorrectly given in both note 69 (p. 378) and in the bibliography (p. 415). The volume carries a satisfactory index. (JOHN TRACY ELLIS)

FERGUSON, WALLACE K. *The Renaissance*. (New York: Henry Holt & Co. 1940. Pp. viii, 148. $1.00.) Professor Ferguson of New York University here provides students with the twenty-eighth volume in the *Berkshire Studies*. All who are familiar with this series will welcome additions thereto, for they are eminently useful for the college students to whom they are in the main addressed. This little volume is divided into three well-developed chapters on the background to the Renaissance, the movement in Italy and finally the Renaissance in the North. In general it is a well-balanced account, though the reviewer believes that more material might have been included on the history of art in Italy and on religious factors on both sides of the Alps.

None will quarrel with Professor Ferguson in his statement that the church inherited much of its organization from the Roman empire, but that it received "its concept of universality" (p. 17) from the same source is quite untrue. That concept was given to the church by Him Who instituted it. Likewise, exception must be taken to the statement that "even before the Protestant Reformation . . . . the unity of Christendom within the fellow-

ship of the universal church had ceased to have any real meaning for the people of Western Europe" (p. 39). The sentiment of opposition to the rulers of the church in the mid-fourteenth century is more accurately described as "anti-papal" rather than "anti-clerical" (p. 113). Finally, Professor Ferguson states the German and Dutch mystics of the fourteenth century were not heretics; yet he goes on to say they taught "religion was a purely personal matter, and that the services of the priests, the sacraments, and the whole elaborate machinery of salvation set up by the church were unnecessary" (p. 115). If these views did not constitute heresy it is difficult to know what did.

The volume contains a bibliographical note with critical comments on the items mentioned which will prove very helpful to further reading. There is likewise a brief index. (JOHN TRACY ELLIS)

FLENLEY, R. (Ed.). *Essays in Canadian History*. (New York: Macmillan Co. 1939. Pp. x, 372. $2.50.) This volume belongs to the *festschrift* type of book. It contains fifteen essays contributed to Professor George M. Wrong on his eightieth birthday by a group of former students, colleagues and present members of the department of history in the University of Toronto, as a token of their esteem and regard. It does not pretend to be a comprehensive survey of the history of our northern neighbor. While each study presents a phase of Canadian history, the book lacks unity inasmuch as each of the writers was free to choose his topic and express his views regardless of whether they conflict with those of his fellow-contributors. Citations of sources are disappointingly few. After an appraisal of the work and achievements of Professor Wrong in the field of Canadian history, there follow essays on the background of Canadian history, on political and constitutional history, on social and economic history, and finally, on cultural history. Among the topics studied are The British Background, The French Revolution and French Canada, Canada and Ireland, Conservatism and National Unity, Permanent Factors in Canadian External Relations, Geographical Determinants in Canadian History, the Cultural Development of New France before 1760, and The Formative Period of Canadian Protestant Churches. An index would have added greatly to the usefulness of the book. (CHARLES H. METZGER)

GIPSON, LAWRENCE HENRY, Professor of History at Lehigh University. *The British Empire before the American Revolution*. Vol. IV: *Zones of International Friction. North America, South of the Great Lakes Region, 1748-1754*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1939. Pp. xlii, 312; index, xliv. $5.00.) The first three volumes of a proposed series of twelve to cover all important aspects of the British empire in the middle of the eighteenth century, have been reviewed in this journal. They were concerned with "the social, economic, and political forces motivating various geographical groups within the Empire: Great Britain and Ireland, the southern, and the northern colonies". The present volume describes "the western push of British colonials in the regions to the south of the Great Lakes during the years just preceding the outbreak of the last of the French and Indian wars in North America". Here the scene is viewed not from the shores of the mother country but from

the region where English, French, and Spaniards met in international rivalry for control of the frontier and its resources. It is a tangled web of movement, economic and territorial, which Professor Gipson unravels with clarity, skill, and scholarship.

An introduction portrays British expansion of the period — an expansion arising from private enterprise and initiative rather than from state planning, but in the prosecution of which the appeal was made to early charters and later treaties. Because private initiative received little encouragement by the French government, the English were more successful in these early plans. With the development of the Indian trade and the importance of the expanding frontiers, Spain as well as France competed with England for supremacy in this region. All this is told in the chapters dealing with the Florida Frontier, Cherokee Paths, the Lower Mississippi Basin, the French New World Granary, the Valley of the Ohio, the Rise and Fall of Pickawillany, the Ohio Company, and the Collapse of the English Trans-Appalachian Movement.

There is, naturally, much in this story which will interest the Catholic reader. Irish Catholic traders are frequently met (*e.g.*, pp. 59, 60, 78), and references to missions and missionaries are many. In connection with the latter the writings of Fathers Garraghan and Delanglez are used, as well as the *Jesuit Relations* and unprinted sources. Eleven maps illustrate the text; the index as in previous volumes is full. Professor Gipson's project is an ambitious one; one-third of the series is, however, completed. The quality of the treatment thus far leaves no doubt as to the importance of the work when concluded. (Leo F. Stock)

Griffin, Charles C. (Ed.). *Concerning Latin American Culture.* Papers read at Byrdcliffe, Woodstock, New York, August, 1939. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1940. Pp. xiv, 234. $2.00.) The papers published in this volume were read at Byrdcliffe, Woodstock Valley, through the generosity of Mrs. Whitehead and her family, and under the direction of the National Committee of the United States of America on Intellectual Coöperation, which body, under the influence of the Division of Cultural Relations of the State Department, has made this contribution to the idea that we in the United States should learn something about Latin American cultural realities before attempting to set up any superstructure of general opinion and policy. To quote from Professor James T. Shotwell's introduction: "In this regard our series is but one phase of a notable effort which is taking place in the United States today to make our relations with Latin America not a mere expression of diplomacy or business but to vitalize them through popular understanding. . . . . It is for many of us a pioneering effort to understand the things that mean most to those who look to Spain and Portugal as their motherlands, rather than to the countries of northern Europe."

Although the papers contain nothing that is not already well known to Hispanic students, they make no claim to originality, having been written primarily for a popular audience. The only pity is, that as usual the volume will only reach a limited audience in university circles. If more books like this one were placed on public bookstands alongside the popular best-sellers, it would be a great step forward.

The volume is especially stimulating because of the healthy diversity of approach to the subject and the variety in the value judgments of the authors. The reviewer wishes to call special attention to the excellent second article, "The Action of Spain in America", by Professor de los Ríos. In his article on Mexico, Mr. Weyl might have reached sounder conclusions with regard to the early Mexican sociologist Quiróga, had he read more carefully the original sixteenth century documents on the subject. The last article in the volume is a story half told, for the author discusses only public education, practically omitting mention of the vast and equally important field of private education in Latin America. (J. MANUEL ESPINOSA)

GÜNTER, HEINRICH. *Das deutsche Mittelalter. Zweite Hälfte: Das Volk (Spätmittelalter)*. (Freiburg im B.: B. Herder and Co. 1939. Pp. x, 304.) The first part of this work met with favorable comment in this *Review* some months ago and there is no reason why the same judgment should not be passed upon this concluding volume. The two constitute a lifetime of study on the part of one of Germany's great Catholic historians. To American readers, thoroughly saturated with somewhat romantic interpretations of the German Middle Ages, the text may not always prove agreeable reading. But history is history, and by Günter's side stand such men as Johannes Janssen, Ludwig Pastor, and Heinrich Finke, whose recent death was hardly noticed in our Catholic press. These were the men who fought the *dicta* of Ranke, Lamprecht, and others. Günter, after two score years of research and lecturing on the theme of the book, makes the point that *reform* was characteristic not alone of the sixteenth century, but of the whole Middle Ages. In his work this idea is necessarily confined to the empire. Charles the Great and Otto the Great had failed to make the Roman empire of the German nation a reality, and Günter surveys its demise under the last Hohenstaufens by way of introduction. Then with much detail, supported by exhaustive bibliographical apparatus and charts, he shows how efforts to rebuild it on the basis of the dynastic strength of the Hapsburg and later ruling families necessarily met with meager success. Political history, of course, fills most of the pages, but it is interpretative. Most admirably done are the chapters of the fourth part of the book (pp. 202-256) on the *innere Aufbauarbeit*, in which are surveyed the spiritual, intellectual, literary, economic, and social movements of the period since 1198, sometimes reaching back into the years before the accession of Innocent III to the papal throne. (FRANCIS J. TSCHAN)

HAM, EDWARD BILLINGS. *Girart de Rossillon. Poème bourguignon du XIVe siècle*. [Yale Romanic Studies, XVI.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1939. Pp. 456. $3.00.) It is clearly evident that the editor spared no effort to make this edition as perfect as possible. How well he succeeded, it is the task of competent mediaeval scholars to judge. This notice is restricted to a brief summary of the material accompanying the text.

The introduction contains a critical review of previous scholarship on the poem; an account of the four Mss. and their language; of their filiation and of the method followed in establishing the text; of the language of the author (vowel and consonant systems, morphology, versification); of the Mss. of the

Vita Girardi and their relation to the poem; and finally, a table of its sources. The text is followed by the variants, notes, an index of proper names, and a glossary. There are two appendices, the first consisting of the text, with notes and variants, of the shorter version of the *Vita Girardi;* the second, of a table of the rimes. The lists of addenda and errata are further supplemented by several corrections by hand. But at least one was missed: p. 75, line 29, *ses* = *se le* should read *ses* = *les*. (ALESSANDRO S. CRISAFULLI)

HANKE, LEWIS and RAUL D'EÇA (Eds.). *Handbook of Latin American Studies.* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1939. Pages XVI, 468. $4.00.) This is the most recent edition of the well-known handbook for 1938 and, as students of Hispanic America have come to expect, is indispensable. That does not, however, imply that it is perfect. Even after some experience in compiling it the work still suffers from gaps, chiefly in the matter of Hispanic American music. There are many persons in the United States otherwise well informed regarding contemporary music who seem not to know that Hispanic America, especially Brazil and Argentina, is producing work of high order in that art, work which is far more significant than the tiresome "Latin American music" one hears day after day (and night after night, on the radio. The news that future editions of the *Handbook* will include music will be welcome to those students of history who appreciate the role of aesthetic development in the growth of a people. Dr. Berrien of Northwestern University is doing much to bring to people of the United States a knowledge of the music of their neighbors, and we need more like him. (EDWIN RYAN)

HANSEN, MARCUS LEE. *The Atlantic Migration, 1607-1860. A History of the Continuing Settlement of the United States.* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1940. Pp. xvii, 391. $3.50.) The particular value of this book lies in the fact that Dr. Hansen took his stand in Europe rather than in America, leaving to other writers the task of telling the story of the immigrants after they reached this side of the Atlantic. He speaks of the conditions which obtained in Europe, whether it was in Germany, France, Ireland, Scandinavia, the Lowlands or Switzerland, the economic factors which entered so importantly into the picture, the religious difficulties which sometimes determined the nature of the migrations, the political oppressions, the natural disasters, the high-pressured manner of some emigrant agencies, all with a vividness and warmth which should make this book popular to others besides historians and sociologists. Here may be seen, on one hand, the return of an emigrant to Ireland with ready cash to occasion fresh departures to a land offering such good fortune, and on the other, groups of Germans camping in the gardens of the Louvre in the hope of selling their horses so as to be able to resume their journey to the seacoast. Here also may be seen the throngs in Dutch and Belgian ports seeking passage to the new world, with their high hopes, dreams and failures, all which formed a part of perhaps the greatest mass movement of humans in modern times.

One of the happiest features of the book is that it does much to discourage the empty boasts of many of those who would claim *Mayflower* descent, for

here is a story of courage and self-sacrifice which forms even more a part of American history than the much less important odyssey of the Pilgrims to the new world.

Professor Hansen completed the manuscript of this book, even to the point of final revision, before his death in 1938, after which Dr. Arthur M. Schlesinger prepared it for publication. Beginning with the great trans-Atlantic migration of white people, first to the thirteen colonies and then to the early republic, the author went down to the eve of the Civil War, with particular emphasis on this latter movement. He also introduces those very little known but parallel organized movements of western Europeans to Poland and the Urkaine, of British subjects to Canada, and other emigrant undertakings in Algeria, Austria, Brazil and Central America. All of this is of particular importance for an understanding of certain present-day problems. Dr. Hansen, likewise, shows that for a time Latin America held a greater fascination for the ordinary European than did English-speaking America.

The book has a good bibliography, copious notes, an index and several interesting illustrations. (JOSEPH B. CODE)

HATCH, WILLIAM HENRY PAINE. *The Principal Uncial Manuscripts of the New Testament.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1939. Pp. xiv, 36; lxxvi of plates. $10.00.) Dr. W. H. P. Hatch, professor in the Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Massachusetts, known for his work in the field of Greek paleography, *The Greek Manuscripts of the New Testament at Mt. Sinai* (Paris, 1932) and *The Greek Manuscripts of the New Testament in Jerusalem* (Paris, 1934), gives us in his splendid new volume seventy-six plates reproducing texts from seventy-three different Mss. of the New Testament ranging in dates from the second century to the eleventh-twelfth centuries. Each plate is accompanied by a brief description, on the page facing it, which supplies the reader with all the necessary information about the Ms. and with references enabling him to study it more fully. Besides, an Introduction in ten chapters (pp. 3-25) outlines in a very clear manner the essential facts of Greek paleography particularly from the point of view of the New Testament student. In this part also there is an excellent collection of bibliographical material affording the reader the possibility of further study. A very complete general index (pp. 29-33) allows one to find readily the information gathered together in the volume.

The present work quite naturally invites comparison with the similar work of H. J. Vogels, *Codicum Novi Testamenti Specimina* (Bonn, 1929). Both works deal with the same subject, yet they differ rather considerably, each supplementing and complementing the other in some respects, so that Professor Hatch's work does not by any means duplicate its predecessor. By far the larger number of the Mss. represented in the new work are absent from Vogels' work, which in turn gives some material not to be found in the American publication. Vogels does not limit himself to Greek material, but includes Latin and Oriental languages (Syriac and Coptic), the Gothic Version, and even two samples of early printed editions, the Complutensis and the Vulgate of Sixtus V, while Dr. Hatch has restricted himself to Greek material, excepting a few instances in which the Greek text is accompanied by

a translation in such a manner that both texts must be photographed together (Pl. L, LXV). An interesting feature of the present volume is that it contains ten plates of Mss. now in this country against only two plates in Vogels of Mss. preserved in Ann Arbor and Washington. The excellent Introduction helps to make the volume self-sufficient. The work should appeal to the New Testament student and should prove most useful in the study of the history of the text. It should find a place among the volumes of the seminar room. (EDWARD P. ARBEZ)

HEDGES, JAMES B. *Building the Canadian West, The Land and Colonization Policies of the Canadian Pacific Railway.* (New York: Macmillan Co. 1939. Pp. vii, 422. $4.00.) As Professor Hedges of Brown University notes with approval in his preface, our old friend Guy Callender in *Selections from the Economic History of the United States* (1909, p. 6), was shrewdly correct in his thesis that: "The most important feature of the economic life in a colony or newly settled community is its commercial connection with the rest of the world. Upon this more than on any other circumstance depends its prosperity." If a frontier is to develop, the footpath of its settlers must broaden into a beaten highway back to civilization and the exchange of men and goods. Indian trails and the Red River carts gave way to the Canadian Pacific railroad, and a prairie empire was broken to the plow and populated. It is this epic of settlement, colonists, colonies, land speculation, migrants, and immigrants which the author relates in somewhat routine but thorough scholarship based upon a wealth of official and railroad records. It is sound and conservative rather than challenging in interest. There is less reference to politico-economic combinations and fraud than one might expect even though the dominion did learn from American experiences; and there is too much company sympathy in recognition of the railroad's problems and its final contribution to the building of this great area. This too is well to remember when agrarian discontent wells up against land dealers, railroads and elevators, and when it neglects to consider settlers' failures and mistakes.

Withal it is a detailed and balanced study of marked value for the student of frontier history and for the student of American land policies who would see our negative and positive contributions to the Canadian scheme. (RICHARD J. PURCELL)

HENDERSON, W. O. *The Zollverein.* (New York: Macmillan Co.; Cambridge: At the University Press. 1939. Pp. xi, 375. $4.50.) Historians are sometimes inclined to look back into the past and to build for themselves a land of what-might-have-been. At first glance, Professor Henderson's study of the *Zollverein*, the first complete one to appear in English, is hardly the material for historical romanticizing. It is a step-by-step description of the evolution of Germany in the nineteenth century from the establishment of three customs unions from 1815 to 1828 to the founding of the *Zollverein* in 1828-1833, its trial in the thirties and forties and its merger with the problems of a whole Germany in the fifties and sixties. Professor Henderson tells the story of the struggle between two ideas in the *Zollverein*, the idea of a united Germany dedicated to the principles of free trade and the idea of a Germany devoted to protectionism.

From its inception, the *Zollverein* was influenced by the ideas of the economist List, who derived his protectionist theory from Alexander Hamilton. List was a nationalist and there can be little doubt but that Prussia from the beginning wished to use the *Zollverein* for political as well as economic purposes. But for Prussia's opposition, the idea of economic unity might have been spread outside Germany.

Professor Henderson's account of the struggle between the middle German states backing Austria and the protectionist states led by Prussia is a marvelous description of the way in which Germany was turned from the old to the new path which could lead only to economic as well as military warfare. It is just as essential a part of the story of the unification of modern Germany as the story of the Schleswig-Holstein dispute, the Seven Weeks War and the Ems telegram. Historians have tended to concentrate too heavily upon the diplomatic and political manoeuvring which led to the unification of Germany. Professor Henderson has redressed the balance and given an account which must be considered in the future whenever the formation of modern Germany comes under discussion.

Yet it must not be said that the *Zollverein* taught no lessons which might be utilized by the future. It gave the world an example of how particularist and economically diverse states might co-operate economically. Secondly, as Professor Henderson points out, the establishment of a customs union leads to wider co-operation on all fronts and leads eventually to political unity. A Europe economically one might some day become one great political unit. Leadership of the type given by Prussia could lead to even greater chaos. Leadership of the kind offered by Austria and the middle German states could lead to peace and happiness. *The Zollverein* furnishes materials for the story of what-might-have-been. It also furnishes an outline of what could be. The Catholic historian should study the Henderson volume particularly carefully. (JAMES M. EAGAN)

HILL, SIR GEORGE. *A History of Cyprus.* Volume I. *To the Conquest by Richard Lion Heart.* (Cambridge: At the University Press; New York: Macmillan Co. 1940. Pp. xviii, 352. $6.00.) This first volume, after a geological and geographical description of Cyprus, treats of its pre-history, its colonization by the early Greeks, Phoenicians, Assyrians, Egyptians and Romans, and brings its history down to the time of Richard Lion Heart's conquest of the island.

Sir George Hill has clearly presented the results of his thirty years of interest in the findings of archeologists and research students of Cyprus' history. The volume is a model of scholarly research on a complex subject. A mere reading of Sir George's copious footnotes is a treat for any scientific historian; a study of them is an education in itself.

The author's aim to produce a "guide through the maze of authorities" and to summarize the results of previous excavations and research is admirably achieved. The volume contains an excellent bibliography, fifteen illustrations, and three maps. (CHARLES W. REINHARDT)

HUME, EDGAR ERSKINE, Lieutenant-Colonel, Medical Corps, United States Army, Knight of Honor and Devotion of the Sovereign Military Order of

Malta. *Medical Work of the Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem.* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1940. Pp. xxii, 371. $3.00.) This volume amply deserves the distinction accorded to it as one of the publications of the Institute of the History of Medicine of The Johns Hopkins University. For several years its author, Colonel Hume, has been doing widespread research into the history of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem — now known as the Sovereign Military Order of Malta. His book has been carefully prepared (with over a hundred valuable illustrations, a bibliography, text references, and an index); and it makes a notable contribution to a wider knowledge of the work of the knights.

The hospitals of the nineteenth century have rightly been the subject of a good deal of condemnation. Even a superficial inquiry shows that only a few generations ago institutional care for wounded and ailing was at a surprisingly low level of efficiency, cleanliness and comfort. Many people, applying the supposed law of cumulative progress of mankind, conclude that conditions in the hospitals of mediaeval centuries must have been even worse than those of the nineteenth.

This theory is completely contradicted by the story of the Knights of St. John. Their hospital in Jerusalem, founded in the eleventh century by a band of merchants of Amalfi, Italy, was nearly as far advanced in some of its services as many of our modern institutions. It took care of pilgrims who, on their way to the Holy Land, often fell ill or were captured by the Moslems. Necessarily, to resist the inroads of these unbelievers, the activities of the order became military as well as medical. The work of the Knights in the near east — in the Holy Land, and after the fall of Jerusalem, in Rhodes — is one of the growing chapters in the history of mediaeval hospitals and their organization.

The knights have survived for nearly a thousand years, and continue their scientific and charitable work in various countries even today, under a status similar to that of the Red Cross in the United States. Colonel Hume's handsome volume is a modern monument to this great humanitarian enterprise. (JAMES J. WALSH)

IANSSENS-MORANDI. *Introductio Biblica seu Hermeneutica Sacra in omnes libros Veteris ac Novi Testamenti.* Ed. 7a. (Turino: Marietti. 1937. Pp. viii, 429.) In spite of its subtitle *Hermeneutica Sacra* which might be misleading, but is explained as meaning what is called ordinarily 'Introductio Biblica' (p. 1), this work gives us in fact more than is expected nowadays from an "Introduction", and, on the other hand, fails us in part in matters which are within the scope of an introduction.

Two rather brief sections study the Canon (pp. 5-26) and Inspiration (pp. 27-44), thus matters which with "the Original Texts and the Versions" (pp. 293-328) and "the principles of Interpretation"—Hermeneutics in the proper sense—(pp. 329-347) belong to "General Introduction". The greater part of the volume is devoted to "Special Introduction" (pp. 45-292); the Old Testament (pp. 45-203) and the New Testament (pp. 203-292). Several appendices take up special questions: I: the Geography of Palestine; Customs, Calendar, Sacred Feasts, Sacrifices, Weights and Measures (pp. 349-370); II: History of

Interpretation (pp. 371-375); III: the Messianic Prophecies (pp. 376-392), Chronological Tables and Indices (pp. 393-429).

The work was published originally in Liege in 1818 by the Belgian Catholic theologian J. H. Janssens (1783-1853) and was well received as shown by the fact that it had several editions in Latin (Paris, 1835, 1851, 1853) and that its French translation went through several editions and revisions (Paris, 1828, 1833, 1841, 1845, 1855). But it became popular chiefly in Italy where revised editions were published in Turin frequently from 1858 on, so that the present edition is the twenty-ninth Turin edition. That a textbook should have retained the favor of the public so long supposes that it possesses some valuable features. Doubtless it was probably found convenient to have the whole Introduction — General and Special — in one volume, and to have within the compass of that one volume matters which usually have to be looked for in several other works. However, including so many different subjects in one volume of this size has some rather serious disadvantages. It results in a very sketchy, and, therefore, unsatisfactory treatment of many important Books in the "Special Introduction". Thus *Proverbs* has less than two pages (p. 156 f.), *Isaias* a trifle over two pages (pp. 168-170), *Jeremias* less than one page (p. 171); a few pages only are given to the Minor Prophets (pp. 191-200) and to the *Epistles of St. Paul* (pp. 259 ff.). It is manifestly impossible to do justice to the problems of these and other Books in the very limited space allotted to them: the reader will look in vain for answers to the modern difficulties ignored by the reviser. In other places, it is true, the treatment is fuller, but nevertheless unsatisfactory, as the standpoint of the work is largely antiquated in spite of some attempts at modernization. To mention only one instance: The question: Num Moses impostor? (pp. 69-70) strikes one as strange; it does not correspond to any modern difficulty. The same remark could be applied to the sections dealing with the authenticity and the historical value of the Pentateuch: the point of view is largely unreal and unmodern. Agreeing with the antiquated standpoint is also what may be called an over-apologetic attitude which tends to use any kind of evidence to maintain a traditional position. Thus, in the question of the Comma Joanneum (pp. 280-284), the real facts of the case are rather different from the apparently impressive array of testimonies given by the author. And indeed the conclusion is not what we would expect after all the evidence marshaled in the preceding pages, for it is recognized that there is a problem, freely discused by Catholics, many of whom reject or question the genuineness of the text. Why, then, waste so much space in giving antiquated evidence for the genuineness? A note quotes the decree of the Holy Office of January 13, 1897 and mentions the attitude of Catholic scholars after that decree (p. 284). The decree of February 2, 1927 explaining the former decree should be quoted. Without wishing to engage in a discussion of what should or should not be included in an "Introduction", we may say that in spite of some good points, the present work is rather disappointing: it is not what one would expect from a modern introduction. (EDWARD P. ARBEZ)

JENSEN, MERVILL. *The Articles of Confederation.* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1940. Pp. vi, 284. $3.00.) Dr. Jensen contends that the American Revolution was not only a revolt against the centralizing and coër-

cive policy of Great Britain but also an uprising of the masses of the people against the colonial aristocracy, a junta of planters and merchants. This supplementary movement was most noteworthy in Pennsylvania, Virginia and New York. Once they had attained their object 'the people' had no intention of re-creating in America a government such as that which they had fought to overthrow. The Articles of Confederation were, therefore, not the result of ignorance or inexperience but the deliberate constitutional expression of their triumph and its embodiment in governmental form. Of set purpose the leaders of 'the people' established state and local supremacy so that from 1781 to 1789 the states were sovereign *de jure* as well as *de facto*. In the exuberance of victory, however, they neglected to maintain the organization which had effected their triumph. Consequently, there was a shift of the balance of power between 1776 and 1789 resulting in the replacing of the Articles by the Constitution, because the conservatives, never accepting the new government as adequate, sought opportunity to regain power and position, and to this end they ascribed all the woes of the country to the Articles, a tradition perpetuated by the Federalists. It would be quite erroneous to judge the Articles merely on the assumption that the Constitution of 1787 was the only alternative to chaos, for such a point of view disregards the previous contest between conservatives and radicals.

Basing his work largely on Burnett's *Letters of the Members of the Continental Congress*, Dr. Jensen writes revisionist history of the best sort. His view is not entirely new, but hitherto it had not received adequate consideration. (CHARLES H. METZGER)

KLEBER, ALBERT, O.S.B., S.T.D. *Ferdinand, Indiana, 1840-1940. A Bit of Cultural History.* (St. Meinrad, Indiana: Published by the Author. 1940. Pp. 237. $1.25.) Founded by the enterprising Croatian priest, Father Joseph Kundeck, in September 1838 and shepherded by the priests of the order of St. Benedict since 1853, Ferdinand, Dubois County, Indiana, is interesting as a pioneer Indiana parish and as a portion of a successful Catholic colonization project. The author provides a serviceable bibliography which will be of interest to compilers of parish histories in the state of Indiana. A plethora of interesting and informative details make vivid the story of a century of consecrated service to God and country. A log church 32x16 feet was erected in Ferdinand in the autumn of 1840. The stone church, built with the aid of the Leopoldine Society of Vienna, had its inception May 30, 1845. Ten parishes and a mission have developed in the original territory of Ferdinand: Fulda (1847), Troy (1851), St. Meinrad (1854), Mariah Hill (1857), Huntingburg (1860), St. Henry (1862), St. Anthony (1864), Schnellville, Sabaria, Dale and New Boston. (THOMAS F. CLEARY)

LANGER, WILLIAM L. (Compiler and Editor). *An Encyclopaedia of World History.* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co. 1940. Pp. xxviii, 1155, lxvi. $5.50.) Students in all fields will welcome this greatly enlarged and modernized version of the Ploetz *Epitome*. The work has been done under the direction of Professor Langer with a corps of fifteen collaborators, all but two of whom are on the faculty of Harvard University. The allotment of space as to gen-

eral periods is as follows: Prehistoric, 20 pp.; Ancient History, 120 pp.; the Middle Ages, 234 pp.; Early Modern History, 182 pp.; the Nineteenth Century, 366 pp.; and the period since 1914, 222 pages. One is at once struck with the amount of space devoted to the nineteenth century. Within each of these major divisions there are geographical subdivisions which carry the reader into every corner of the globe. The *Encyclopaedia* (and such is a proper name for it) includes as well nine appendices with lists of rulers such as those of the old Roman emperors, the popes, the British, French, and Italian ministries. Just why the latter three were chosen and others, such as the German ministries, omitted is not clear. Moreover ninety-five genealogical tables of dynastic rulers, a series of helpful maps, and a sixty-six page index will be of great assistance to the student employing this volume. Little fault can be found with the general contents and arrangement of this comprehensive digest of world history, and there is little doubt that it will immediately supplant any similar work in the field.

Professor Langer's preface tells the story of how the book came into being. He states that, "individual judgments have been kept in the background and divergent interpretations have been adduced only where they seemed to be indispensable" (p. vi). Readers of this journal may fairly ask if this rule has been followed in such cases as the explanation of the Petrine theory of the Roman see where St. Cyprian is quoted to demonstrate that the Roman bishops were considered as "no more than a bishop among other bishops," (p. 141) and yet no evidence, such as that of St. Clement I, is adduced on the other side. Again students of the history of the church will be amused to learn that the Council of Trent was held "under Jesuit guidance" (p. 402). Probably the most enthusiastic followers of Father Lainez and his fellow Jesuit theologians at Trent would not claim that the council was under the society's guidance. It is likewise evident that "individual judgments" were not suppressed entirely when we find Pius IX's promulgation of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception attributed to that pope's "seeking popularity" (p. 671). On the same page we are informed that the doctrine of papal infallibility "attempted to exalt the papacy above all secular states and to extend "faith and morals" to the political domain." One may justly ask when is the obfuscation of the "liberal" mind of the late nineteenth century going to clear on that issue? Benedict XV's peace proposals are treated with something beyond pure objectivity when it is said that they "earned him nothing but a reputation for pro-Germanism" (p. 672). The treatment of the papacy from Benedict XV's pontificate down to the election of Pius XII in March, 1939 is handled with an accuracy (pp. 1003-1004) which one would desire to see in vogue throughout the other sections of the volume which treats this story. Finally, as an earlier reviewer has pointed out in the *Historical Bulletin*, XIX (Nov. 1940), 7, Professor Langer's work gets off on page 1 to a start which would delight old Darwin himself in the subdivision entitled "The Origin of Man." Man is among the animals and not the faintest trace of his status as a creature made to the image of God is suggested. These and many more criticisms of a like kind could be adduced, but space forbids.

Despite the points raised above which mar the work in some of its details on the history of the church and the papacy, Professor Langer's volume is,

in the main, a splendid accomplishment. When one reflects how easy it would be for men embarked on any phase of the church's story to secure accurate data on her doctrines and practices from scholars competent to speak on these subjects, it is a reason for sincere regret that they do not employ this easy device to keep the record straight. (JOHN TRACY ELLIS)

LAUVRIÈRE, EMILE. *Histoire de la Louisiane française, 1673-1939.* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1940. Pp. 445. $3.00.) This is a real compendium of Louisiana history, condensed yet sufficiently detailed so as to satisfy both teacher and student. In twelve well-ordered chapters the author gives a panoramic view of the highlights in the history of that vast territory embracing the Mississippi Valley from Canada to the Gulf of Mexico and out of which were ultimately carved twenty-four states or territories. The first two chapters are devoted to the pioneer explorations, notably of De Soto, Father Marquette, La Salle and Lemoyne d'Iberville. The following ten chapters deal with the establishment of the French colony; the foundation of New Orleans; the progressive growth of the colony under the administration of Bienville, the Company of the West, the Company of the Indies; the retrocession to the royal governors; the Natchez War; the Spanish Domination and the final cession to the United States.

While passing from one domination to the other, from the French to the Spanish in 1762, thence again to France in 1800, and finally to the United States in 1803, the colony remained predominantly French and the English language but slowly supplanted the French. Contrary to the wishes of loyal Frenchmen both here and abroad, legislation made English obligatory in the elementary schools and even forbade the use of French in recreation. In secondary schools the study of French was optional for a few periods weekly but was taught as a dead language. Thus, the author avers, Louisiana French became corrupt in form, greatly weakened and even disappeared in some sections.

The book is attractively printed but lacks the indispensable index. For the latter, however, there is partial compensation in the boldface captions heading the various paragraphs. The pages are free of footnotes but after each chapter the respective sources and references are listed. These are largely archival but printed sources are also generously used. At the end a general bibliography is listed. (CLAUDE VOGEL)

MASON, WADE. *Margaret Fuller. Whetstone of Genius.* (New York: Viking Press. 1940. Pp. xvi, 304. $3.50.) This biography of the famous New England leader of the nineties, a Catholic Book Club selection, is an interesting addition to the ever-increasing number of works which reveal the intellectual history of New England at its hey-day. The author is a Catholic member of a Puritan family who became interested in the honest attempt of Margaret Fuller to reconcile her New England intellectualism with her attraction for the true faith.

A friend of Emerson and many others distinguished in the realm of letters and philosophy, Margaret Fuller was a transcendentalist who philosophized about the rights of women and of the poor, and whose residence in Europe

put her in contact with Italy and, of course, with Catholicism at its source. Unfortunately, her untimely death, on the rocks of Fire Island within sight of shore, brought to a close a truly remarkable life which might have been made more remarkable had she lived long enough to embrace the faith.

This is a book not to be neglected by the student of American history. It calls for the examination of the student of American Church history as well. There is an index and twelve illustrations. (JOSEPH B. CODE)

MAXEY, CHESTER C. *Political Philosophies.* (New York: Macmillan Co. 1938. Pp. xiii, 692. $4.00.) This is another of the one-volume histories or "stories" of political philosophy that have become so popular recently. The survey—and it is intended to be that and nothing else—was written, the author tells us, because he believed his presentation of political philosophies was sufficiently different and useful and because it included a biographical sketch of the philosopher under consideration, an exposition of the nature and significance of his work, a summary of his major writings and doctrines, and a few characteristic quotations of the philosopher himself. Thus he felt it warranted transfer to the printed page. Without any attempt to determine how different in presentation or approach this work is from the older or the new one-volume editions, many of which seem to stem from Dunning's three volumes, it is here declared that Professor Maxey's work, although written in an arresting, compelling and clever style, as evidenced by such chapter headings as "The First Political Scientist", "Vicisti Galilee", "Lords Temporal and Spiritual", and "Strange Interlude", is one that the Catholic reader will find ill-suited to his purposes if he wishes to know the history of political theories and the part of Catholic political thought therein.

The work is objectionable both because of what it omits and what it says. A startling example of the former is the compression of the whole of Christian mediaeval political thought from St. Augustine through St. Thomas in nineteen pages—this in a work of six hundred and ninety-two pages. Yet another example is its failure to recognize the place and importance of Vitoria, Suarez, or St. Robert Bellarmine in the history of political thought. They are not so much as named or indexed. More serious than this, however, is the anti-Christian, if not anti-Catholic, spirit that pervades many of its pages. Three direct quotations will suffice to show the spirit of the work:

> (1) The bishop of Rome very early had acquired a unique priority among Christian prelates, partly because of the assiduously cultivated legend that the first incumbent of the episcopal chair was the Apostle Peter, who supposedly had endowed it with the paramount sacerdotal authority he was alleged to have received directly from Christ; but mainly, we may be sure, because of the close conjunction of the Roman see and the high politics of the imperial capital (p. 98).
>
> (2) Somewhere between 54 A. D. and 323 A. D. the nature of the Christian movement underwent a profound metamorphosis; it became a religio-political rather than a pure religious movement, and thereby hangs a tale which modern doctors of divinity are disposed to treat with great reticence (p. 96).

(3) (Christianity) had departed far from the simple creed of Jesus and the robust theology of Paul. By masterly tactics in the arena of politics it had captured an empire, had become the most formidable engine of religio-political authority the world had ever known; but for this triumph it had paid an enormous price, the evidence of which was borne on its very face. No longer was it pure Galilean Christianity, but a hybrid thing in which a residue of Christian elements were mingled with borrowing from almost every pagan creed which it had supplanted in the struggle for supremacy. The Christian Church had conquered but not the Galilean (p. 98). (JOHN L. MCMAHON)

MAZOUR, ANATOLE G. *An Outline of Modern Russian Historiography.* With an Introduction by ROBERT J. KERNER. (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1939. Pp. ix, 130. $1.25.) Few books will prove more disappointing than this slim volume by Professor Mazour, since it does not fulfill the promise of its title and leaves the reader wondering whether Professor Kerner, writing in the introduction to this work of his former student, is right in saying that "few fields of historiography are more interesting than the Russian and very few are as stimulating". Professor Mazour's approach to a survey of Russian historiography is didactic and one-sided. He criticizes the great historian of the early nineteenth century, Karamzin, for lack of scholarship, on the ground merely that the latter used imagination and color, and fails to give due weight to the fact that history should be written in order to be read and not to gather dust on a library shelf or in the basement of a publishing house. He extols the "liberal" school of Russian historiography, which has distorted history and added in no small measure to the confusion of Russian minds in the twentieth century. His sarcastic references to the type of history and history writing under the Soviets would be more readily accepted if he had not applied a similar sneering attitude to some of the great conservative historians of imperial Russia.

Aside from the general character of this work, which does not do justice to Russian historiography, its roster of historians under review omits some important scholars such as the Grand Duke Nicholas Mikhailovich, N. F. Dubrovin, S. Goriainov, V. L. Modzalevsky, N. K. Schilder, P. E. Shtchegolev, S. Tatishtchev, to mention but a few. Professor Mazour also shows a lack of carefulness for historical terms when he makes no distinction between "diplomatics" and "paleography" (p. 115).

On the whole this reviewer must conclude that the important gap in our knowledge of Russian historiography, which was felt before the publication of Professor Mazour's study, still remains unfilled. (LEONID I. STRAKHOVSKY)

MCLACHLAN, JEAN O. *Trade and Peace with Old Spain, 1667-1750.* (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1940. Pp. xvi, 249. $3.50.) As indicated in the sub-title, this is "a study of the influence of commerce on Anglo-Spanish Diplomacy in the first half of the eighteenth century." Miss McLachlan detects in the advantages and operations of the English merchant the finally determining factor in the shaping of England's political relations with Bourbon Spain, from the commercial treaty of 1713, that grew out of the War of the

Spanish Succession, to the commercial treaty that followed thirty-seven years later as a result of the War of the Austrian Succession.

The study comprises five chapters, the first of which offers the background, dealing with Anglo-Spanish trade between the years 1667 and 1700. In an appendix the author appraises the real place of Josef Patiño in Spanish history, regarding him as "certainly one of the outstanding ministers of eighteenth-century Spain" and finding it remarkable "that in the circumstances he managed to achieve so much." The rich bibliography covers sixteen pages of the volume, while the following forty-eight pages list the notes.

A commendable feature of the study is the fact that the author consulted, in addition to the English, also the unpublished material and published sources of Spanish origin. As inevitably happens when this method is employed, the result obtained is a well-balanced picture of what really occurred. One may not in every instance be in full accord with the conclusions arrived at; but about the author's earnest efforts to be objective there can be no doubt. The study under review is in every respect a model of history writing. (FRANCIS BORGIA STECK)

MILLING, CHAPMAN J. *Red Carolinians*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1940. Pp. xxi, 438. $4.00.) This is an exceptionally worthy book on a long neglected subject, the Indians of South Carolina. South Carolina is the parent state of the southeast and the history of its Indians must naturally deal with Indian history throughout that area.

When his story touches upon Catholicism, Dr. Milling handles the matter rather poorly. It seems inexcusable to speak of Jesuits as 'friars' and Franciscans as 'monks'. There is no need for this slur on the mission system: "The mission system, whereby proud forest heathens were gradually transformed into dependent christian serfs, had been inaugurated among the Indians of San Miguel; and men, women and children from friendly neighboring tribes had been transported into slavery." As a matter of fact, De Ayllon's colony did not last long enough to inaugurate anything. Dr. Milling's comparison of Indian animism with Catholicism is entirely unnecessary and either bigoted or ignorant. He says: "While the Carolina Indians believed in hundreds of spirits and a number of minor deities, their religion was hardly more polytheistic than medieval Christianity with its hosts of angels, saints and demons." It is a pity that these flaws are in the book, for otherwise it is excellent. Dr. Milling's scholarly work is a real contribution to frontier history and it is a "must" for every library of American history. (RICHARD C. MADDEN)

Nationalism. A Report by a Study Group of Members of the Royal Institute of International Affairs. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1939. Pp. xx, 360. $3.75.) This report is the work of nine experts in the fields of political science, economics and sociology and was undertaken "because contemporary developments of nationalism threaten the very future of civilization." Supplementing this critical and well-documented study is a twenty-page index.

Under thirteen descriptive and analytical chapter headings, the question of nationalism and kindred problems are examined. Included among these are

the influences of economics, religion and various theories and philosophies, particularly the sinister Hegelian influence, that enter into the serious and crucial subject of nationalism and its offsprings. Herein are unfolded the complex reciprocal relationships between the nation and the state, as also the differences between the older liberal national units and the newer totalitarian ones. The rôle played by the papacy in various nationalistic controversies is graphically described.

The group authors find that "nationalism has already reached the climax of its intensity" and that "if it does not lead to war on a world-wide scale in the immediate future, it will slowly diminish in intensity." Certain possible solutions or checks upon the evils of nationalism are pointed out along with the difficulties and probably dubious results to be expected in connection with some of them. In general, a higher organization of society along federative or multi-national lines is found to be the most promising prospective solution.

In their conclusion, the authors warn us against hoping to find an early answer in any supranational setup. "Meanwhile," in the closing words of the volume, "those concerned with the conduct of international affairs in the present epoch can only take the nation as a fact . . . . and work to harmonize the divergent points of view of different nations and to diminish the extent and frequency of resort to violence in the relations between them."

Within certain prescribed limits the study is profound in its thoroughness and value. Certainly it is utterly scientific, dispassionate and fair, devoid of objectionable racial or national bias. In the opinion of the reviewer, these qualities as well as the white light it throws upon the present complex European situation makes this work an indispensable one to the earnest student today. (ELIZABETH B. PATTERSON)

NICHOLSON, ROBERT LAWRENCE. *Tancred: A Study of his Career and Work in their Relation to the First Crusade and the Establishment of the Latin States in Syria and Palestine.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Libraries. 1940. Pp. 240. $3.00.) This is a University of Chicago doctoral dissertation prepared under the direction of Professor Einar Joranson. Since the latter was a student of the late Dana C. Munro, it is evident that the influence of that great American authority on the crusades has now reached the second generation. Tancred, the subject of this biography, "took a leading part in the Latin conquest of Syria and Palestine," and displayed notable political shrewdness and military skill in expanding the original conquests. Since his career has not been separately studied for many years, Dr. Nicholson's work contributes significantly to our knowledge of the early days of the Latin orient. That the book is intended for the specialist is evident from its minute detail and abundant and sometimes excessive documentation. Moreover, lithoprinting adds to the reader's difficulties. More attention to an interpretation of the significance of Tancred's career and less narrative detail would have made the book more serviceable. On pages 78 ff. the geographical references are not clear. Gibellum is two hundred miles from Caesarea, not seventy. If the former city is intended by the references (pp. 181-2, 188-9) to Jabala, the same spelling should have been used throughout. There is an extensive bibliography, but no index. To the former might be added R. Grousset, *His-*

toire des Croisades, tome II (tome I is cited), which contains (pp. 837-40) a brief discussion of Tancred's activities in Galilee. (MARSHALL W. BALDWIN)

PARRY, J. H. *The Spanish Theory of Empire in the Sixteenth Century.* (Cambridge: At the University Press; New York: Macmillan Co. 1940. Pp. 75. $1.25.) This is an excellent essay on a much-discussed and extremely difficult problem. By the end of the sixteenth century Spain had established in the new world a vast colonial empire and organized a system of government over its peoples that bore all the earmarks of imperialism. The nucleus of this empire was the *encomienda;* wherefore Mr. Parry's study is correctly centered on this particular institution. Chapter III discussing "The Case for the Encomienda" and Chapter IV presenting "The Case against the Encomienda" are especially well-written and should be read by those who are in the habit of summarily condemning this system of governing the Indian and refuse to hear the other side of the question. The Spanish crown was imperialistic in character and procedure; about this there is no doubt. But neither can there be any doubt in the mind of the reader, after he has read this splendid study, that in the sixteenth century the crown sought, sincerely and honestly, what was, under the circumstances, most conducive to the material and spiritual welfare of the native Indians. Mr. Parry has treated a knotty question with keen insight, with a fine sense of appreciation, and with the care and accuracy that betokens sound historical scholarship. His essay is a real contribution and deserves the commendation it will assuredly receive from all who are interested in and acquainted with the history of Spain's dominion in in the new world during the sixteenth century. (FRANCIS BORGIA STECK)

PEASE, THEODORE CALVIN and ERNESTINE JENISON (Eds.). *Illinois on the Eve of the Seven Years' War, 1747-1755.* [Illinois State Historical Library, Volume XXIX, French Series, Volume III]. (Springfield, Illinois: Illinois State Historical Library. 1940. Pp. lii, 977. $2.50.) Volume III of the French series is a collection of documents written originally in French. The editors, Professor Pease of the University of Illinois and Ernestine Jenison of the Illinois State Historical Library, have published the documents in French with an accompanying English translation. The history of the decline of French power in the Mississippi Valley is clarified by the correspondence of Marques de Vandreuil, Governor of Louisiana, whose letters are preserved in the Huntington Library, San Marino, California. The Public Record Office in London, the Archives Nationales at Paris, the Chicago Historical Society and the Library of Congress provided other valuable papers included in this illuminating survey of the Illinois country and the west during the eight years preceding the French and Indian War. The foundation of French power in America was undermined by commercial penetration. The English trader easily outbid his French competitor who was handicapped by the restrictions of an unwieldy bureaucracy. Superior in industrial progress, England provided cheaper goods in larger quantities than her enemy France. The English trader was able to meet the demand of his patrons at lower prices, and he operated with comparative freedom. Illicit French traders subordinated patriotism to their cupidity. Ineffectively garrisoned and sparsely settled New France was

continually menaced by the fickle Indians. In failing to exterminate hostile tribes along this route, the French exposed themselves to the constant danger of guerilla warfare. The enterprising English trader complicated the situation by weaning away from the French both the patronage and loyalty of southern tribes.

Economic causes aroused Indian conspiracies against the French in the region of the Great Lakes in 1747, and dangerous propaganda was weakening the allegiance of the Illinois Indian to the French. The counter-attack outlined by La Galissionière and approved by the French ministry in 1752 and 1753 proposed a line of defense against the English from Lake Erie to the Ohio. The forcible application of this aggressive policy precipitated the war which began in 1754. (THOMAS F. CLEARY)

PHILBRICK, FRANCIS S. (Ed.). *Pope's Digest 1815*. Vol. II. [Collections of the Illinois Historical Library, Volume XXX; Law Series, Volume IV.] (Springfield, Illinois: Illinois State Historical Library. 1940. Pp. v, 107. $2.50.) Eighty-two acts enacted during the period 1807-1815 for the governing of the territory of Illinois are published in this volume edited by Professor Philbrick of the School of Law of the University of Pennsylvania. Incorporated in the Northwest territory by the ordinance of 1787, Illinois became a part of the Indian territory in May, 1800, a separate territory in 1809, and a state in 1818. The ordinance of 1787 guaranteed religious freedom, civil rights, the writ of *habeas corpus* and trial by jury. Although slavery and involuntary servitude, except by punishment of crime, were excluded from the Northwest territory by the ordinance of 1787, the acts of 1807-1813 and 1814 deal with Negroes and mulattoes. The problem of slavery in Illinois was solved gradually and with great difficulty. Championed by Governor Cole, the anti-slavery forces achieved victory in 1824, and slavery in Illinois was legally abolished when the state constitution of 1848 was adopted.

The acts of 1807 set up courts of common pleas, or courts of record, in each county, fixed the legal rate of interest at six per cent, established courts for the trial of small causes, empowered the appointment of justices of the peace within the several counties, regulated notaries public, provided for the appointment of an auditor and territorial treasurer, and authorized the courts of common pleas to divide the counties into townships and to maintain existing highways and to open, or alter, public roads.

Interesting and informative material for a study of the sociological conditions and the ethical concepts of the pioneer period of Illinois history are found in the acts concerning vagrants, the poor, servants, vice and immorality, and prisons. (THOMAS F. CLEARY)

POULIOT, LEON, S.J. *Premiers Ouvriers de Nouvelle-France*. (Montreal: Le Messager Canadien. 1940. Pp. 150.) BOUVIER, GUILBERTE C. *Kateri Tekakwitha*. (Montreal: Le Messager Canadien. 1939. Pp. 150.) Father Pouliot gives a popular description of the first two Jesuit missioners in Canada, Father Ennemond Massé and Father Anne de Noué. Overshadowed by the missionary martyrs of the Society of Jesus, they were none the less among the first to sow the seeds of faith in Canadian lands. It would be a blunder, however,

to suppose that they were the first priests to labor in those vast territories, since we know that some secular priests worked there before them, however little they may have accomplished.

The volume tells first of Father Massé's arrival in Acadia with one of his confrères. Due to their inability to cope with the language of the Indians and to surmount other difficulties, they migrated to St. Sauveur, then a French colony but now a part of our state of Maine. There the colonists were dispersed and the missioners carried off to Virginia. Massé escaped and returned to France where he remained about ten years. But he essayed once more to cross the seas, this time with Lallemont and Brebeuf. Massé was a great builder of missions, and was considered a saint by Mother Mary of the Incarnation. He was buried under the chapel at Sillery, near Quebec.

Our author devotes only fifteen pages to the second of these missionary priests, Father Anne de Noué. The obvious reason is that there is rather little to tell, since Father de Noué lost his life in a snow storm after only five years on the missions. He was buried at Trois Rivières. Like many other missioners, he found the language just a bit too much for him, but he remained at his post until death overtook him while out on a sick-call.

There is a curious defect in the physical make-up of this little volume. It contains some thirty illustrations of questionable artistic merit, and all too often the titles appended have absolutely nothing to do with the pictures themselves.

Miss Bouvier gives to French readers a popular, lively and interesting account of an Indian maid, whose canonization is now being ardently sought throughout the Catholic world. She tells in simple style the story of Tekakwitha, who was born near the present site of Albany. Her mother had been baptized by one of the Jesuit missioners, but she herself was reared in pagan surroundings. It was only later on that she discovered that her mother had been a convert to the faith, and that discovery, under the grace of God, led her to seek instructions from a Jesuit priest and ultimately to be received into the church. She lived at Conawaga, near Montreal, a short span of twenty-four years, but time enough to reveal a life of heroic sanctity. Her remains were kept in the village she hallowed, and the time came when the *vox populi* began to sound her praises and to seek her intercession at the heavenly throne.

This little book is replete with illustrations, which should help to make it attractive reading for children. (Louis A. Arand)

Russell, Nelson Vance. *The British Régime in Michigan and the Old Northwest, 1760-1796.* (Northfield, Minn.: Carleton College. 1939. Pp. xi, 302. $2.00.) The history of the Old Northwest during the period covered by this work needs to be fitted into the general history of the United States, because few people realize its importance in the early years of our national development.

In recent years, special studies have afforded their readers intriguing glimpses of particular activities in the Old Northwest. It would seem that Professor Russell's purpose was to combine these various items into a composite whole. He has succeeded quite well in doing so. A glance at the chapter headings shows that the author deals with the establishment of the British in the old

French posts throughout the area, the administration adopted for maintaining the new English acquisitions, the economic and social life in the territory, the problem of transportation and naval defense; and, finally, what effect the revolution had on the country and why the British were able to hold the border posts until the Jay treaty.

It is rather surprising how much actually was going on in the Mississippi valley during this transition period. The three hundred pages of narrative are packed with activity. With so much to write about one is a little disturbed by several repetitions which arise from the unit method of development used by Mr. Russell in synthesizing his material. Moreover, the limited scope of the work, evidently, is responsible for the rather sketchy treatment of many interesting episodes. However, it does collect in one place a great amount of interesting data. Others, it is hoped, will carry on the work of developing them.

The book presents the appearance of scholarly research, and the bibliography will help readers to a better acquaintance with the sources. We are sorry to note that the reviewer in the *American Historical Review* feels that credit was not always given to sources used. Perhaps as a teacher, Mr. Russell has employed certain authors so regularly that in writing his book, their phraseology came unsuspectingly to his pen. (RAPHAEL N. HAMILTON)

SAINT-MARTIN, J. *Oeuvres de Saint Augustin. 1re Série: Opuscules* III. *L'Ascétisme chrétien.* (Paris: Desclée, de Brouwer et Cie. 1939. Pp. 563. 32 fr.) JOLIVET, R. *Oeuvres de Saint Augustin. 1re Série: Opuscules* IV. *Dialogues philosophiques.* I. *Problèmes fondamentaux.* (Paris: Desclée, de Brouwer et Cie. 1939. Pp. 468. 10 fr.) These are two volumes of a new edition of St. Augustine's works being published in the Bibliothèque Augustinienne. As planned this edition will fill more than fifty handy volumes, of which these form numbers three and four in date of publication.

The general editor, Rev. F. Cayré, A.A., originally intended to issue a few volumes of selections from Augustine's writings for popular reading; but now with the willing aid of many noted French patristic authorities, he proposes to publish the complete works with the Latin text on one page and the French translation on the other. The Latin text is that edited by the Benedictines of St. Maur (1679-1700), found in Migne, *Patrologiae Latinae Cursus Completus*, Vols. 32-47 (Paris, 1845-49). The variant readings of the Vienna *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* are noted. The translations are made by experts and are accurate and smooth. Unlike so many French books which are eyesores, these are clearly printed on fine white paper with flexible cloth binding.

In every volume there will be a brief general introduction to each one of Augustine's distinct treatises, explaining its historical setting, general theme and style. Textual footnotes are given only when absolutely necessary. At the end of each work are valuable extended doctrinal notes for the serious student. These are completed by adequate bibliographies and excellent analytic indices. All the desired scholarly apparatus is here, yet it is not obtrusive; and the editor cherishes the hope that many ordinary readers may become acquainted with Augustine's doctrines through the medium of the French translation.

The volume entitled *L'Ascétisme chrétien* not only contains the four ascetical treatises: *De Continentia, De Sancta Virginitate, De Bono Viduitatis, De Opere Monachorum*, which are just as apropos today as they were in the beginning of the fifth century, but it also includes a general introduction to the entire work. This begins with a brief survey of the principal editions of Augustine's writings, and a prospectus for the present edition is given. Then follows a masterly essay on the saint's philosophy by the Rev. F. Van Steenberghen, the eminent Louvain philosopher. The general editor continues with a contribution of almost fifty pages on Augustine's theology. These essays are well worth the price of the book and no patristic scholar should be without them. To be found also in this volume are a complete alphabetical and a complete chronological list of all Augustine's one hundred twenty different works.

The fourth volume contains the philosophical treatises: *Contra Academicos, De Beata Vita* and *De Ordine*, which are his first works in order of composition. They are highly philosophical in nature and were composed soon after his conversion in an attempt to solve some of the problems which he had failed to answer satisfactorily during his life as a pagan and a Manichaean. The thought of these tracts is that of the Christian neophyte but the style that of the pagan rhetorician.

Let us hope that when France recovers after the shock of the recent disaster, her Catholic scholars may bring this much desired work to a satisfactory conclusion. (HARRY C. KOENIG)

SCARFOLGIO, CARLO. *England and the Continent*. (New York: Fortuny's Publishers. 1939. Pp. 338. $2.75.) With Italy entered into the conflict, France laid waste by the German army, and England facing her first real fear of invasion since William the Conqueror made England his own, this volume causes the reader to pause and reflect. Its aim, "to explain to an English public . . . . in what light the relations between England and the rest of Europe appear to our Continental mind" gives no hint that Signor Scarfoglio has summoned England to answer for the woes and the wars of Europe.

This psycho-analysis of English democracy and democratic traditions finds democracy wanting. Carlo Scarfoglio traces the British foreign policies on the continent and shows how England has used them to maintain the balance of power in her favor. Through a succession of wars from the time of Maria Theresa to the War of 1914, according to the author, England has provoked continental wars for her own benefit. Democracy has destroyed itself. The arraignment as well as the analysis throws an unusual light upon many phases of political and diplomatic history. Is England's power ebbing? With the Munich conference just drawing to a close as this provocative volume was completed the author brings forth many new angles on events and characters. The controversial nature of the volume will of itself cause some to disagree with Signor Scarfoglio when he says, "that a democratic war and a democratic peace have automatically prepared the necessity for a new war." The author, however, offers an entirely new approach to an old topic and a novel way of letting the English know what Europeans on the continent think of English methods and ways. A printer's slip on page 30 reads Polish instead of Popish plot. (SISTER M. REGINA BASKA)

SEPPELT, FRANZ XAVER UND KLEMENS LÖFFLER. *Papstgeschichte von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart.* (München: Verlag Kösel-Pustet. 1938. Pp. xvi, 441. RM 7.50.) The new edition of this invaluable work brings the total number of copies up to 45,000. It represents great changes even over the previous edition of 1933, and leaves the English translation quite antiquated. The death of Klemens Löffler placed the work entirely in the hands of Franz Seppelt; the latter has revised both his own section and that on the recent history of the papacy, previously treated by Löffler. Throughout, the text has been changed in a very great number of cases to keep it abreast of current research. An index of persons and places has been added together with a list of plates. The plates are no longer interspersed in the text but confined to separate pages. The 919 pictures of the previous edition have been greatly reduced in number, though plenty of them remain to render the volume attractive.

It is to be regretted that Professor Seppelt, with all his experience in writing papal history, has never seen fit to publish a well-documented history of the papacy. Even his rather extensive *Geschichte des Papsttums* is being issued without notes. (ALOYSIUS K. ZIEGLER)

SHIELDS, B. F. *The Labor Contract.* (London: Burns, Oates & Washbourne, Ltd. 1936. Pp. xii, 152. 5/.) In *The Labor Contract* an attempt is made to deal with the economic, legal and moral aspects of the subject. The questions involved are fundamental as well as complex. An adequate discussion of any one of the many vital phases discussed in the hundred and fifty pages would require a treatment of at least equal length to that of the brief work. The fact that the author touched on as many problems may in part account for the disappointment one experiences in reading the book.

At the outset, however, exception must be taken to the claim made by the publishers, that, "Professor Shields provides much information concerning social legislation in many countries which cannot be found elsewhere."

Some of the statements made in the work regarding such legislation in Canada and the United States are not always strictly accurate and at times fail to evince an appreciation of the character of some of the laws cited. While the National Industrial Recovery Act had already been voided by the supreme court of the United States a year prior to the publication of the work,—which the author notes in a footnote early in his treatment,—yet this fact seems to be overlooked in later passages where this act is cited. The author also appears unaware of the fact that in the formulation of the codes under the N. I. R. A. labor played but a minor role, and furthermore that such codes can hardly be cited as examples of genuine "collective bargaining". The author's attempt to "correlate" his treatment with what he terms "the weighty opinions" contained in the principal social encyclicals of Leo XIII and Pius XI proves unsatisfactory. The citation of brief texts at the opening of each chapter coupled with a sketchy appendix fail to acquaint the reader with the significance of some of the most important phases of popes' social doctrine bearing on the labor contract.

The claim of the author that "The payment of unduly low wages to adult workers must be condemned as offending against the principles of Charity

and Justice" (p. 46) surely is an understatement of the papal wage doctrine. Pope Pius XI demands for the workers, on the basis of strict justice, a family wage such "that an ample sufficiency be supplied to the workingmen"; a wage contract "which should when possible be modified somewhat by a contract of partnership", ... whereby "wage earners are made sharers in some sort in the ownership, in the management or in the profits." Through such a wage "the propertyless wage-earner" would, according to the social doctrine of Pius XI "by skill and thrift", be enabled to "acquire a certain moderate ownership", and to make "suitable provision through public or private insurance for old age, for periods of illness and unemployment."

Any treatment of the labor contract which fails to acocrd a central rôle to "functional" or "occupational" in social reform, misses the heart of Pius XI's program of social reconstruction.

A text which claims to be a development of a couple of lectures on the labor contract, "delivered in a well-known Catholic Seminary", can hardly be excused for omitting an adequate discussion of the "corporative organization" in relation to such contract. (DONALD A. MACLEAN)

STECK, FRANCIS BORGIA, O.F.M. *Ensayos históricos hispano-americanos. 1a Serie.* (Mexico: Bajo el signo del "Abside". 1940. Pp. 74.) This booklet contains three essays, translated from English into Spanish, dealing with the cultural history of Spanish America. The first, entitled "Juan Pablos: El Gutenberg Americano," deals with the establishment of the first public printing press in America. It is generally stated that the first press was brought to America by Fray Juan de Zumárraga, bishop of Mexico, in 1535, and that the first book printed in America was the *Escala Espiritual*, from this press. However, few are aware of the fact that the press was Zumárraga's own private property, and that we have no existing copy of the above work, our only source for its publication being an account written in 1596. We have no knowledge of any other work from this press prior to 1539. More significant was the establishment of the first public printing press in America in 1539. That year Juan Cromberger, a printer in Seville, obtained permission from the government to set up a branch establishment in Mexico. His typesetter, Juan Pablos, was placed in charge of the American press. Before the end of the year 1539 Pablos had printed his first work, a catechism of Christian doctrine. Many other volumes, both religious and profane, followed. We know of one Esteban Martín, "a printer", in Mexico prior to Pablos, but nothing else is known of him except that he may have been connected with Zumárraga's private press, which disappeared from the picture with the arrival of Pablos. Cromberger, for whom Pablos worked, had been given a monopoly over all printing in America. On Cromberger's death Pablos inherited the establishment, and also the monopoly. Everything went smoothly until Antonio de Espinosa, one of Pablos' employees, decided to set up his own press, and protested against the monopoly. By royal cédula of 1558, Pablos' monopoly was broken and printing in America entered a new stage of development. Martin may have been the first printer in America, but Juan Pablos was the first printer in America to establish the noble art of printing on solid foundations. Hence, the very justifiable title: Juan Pablos, the American Gutenberg.

The other two essays are more or less related. The second essay is entitled "Los Cincuenta Primeros Años de Dominación Española en México (1522-1572)." It deals with the extensive and important cultural contribution of the missionaries in the first half-century of Spanish domination in Mexico. Special mention is made of the contribution of the Franciscan Fathers. It is an excellent summary. The third essay, entitled "Los Colegios Misioneros Franciscanos en la América Española," is more general in scope. It is a stimulating synthesis of Franciscan labors in the Americas, in which the author demonstrates convincingly that the religious and cultural activities of the Franciscans in colonial Hispanic America have not yet been adequately studied, and offer a wide field for historical investigation. The author presents the problem by indicating briefly the principal periods of Franciscan activity, the origin and purpose of their work, the various mission fields, and the missionaries' contributions to science and culture in the Americas. (J. MANUEL ESPINOSA)

TANSILL, CHARLES CALLAN. *Diplomatic Relations between the United States and Hawaii 1885-1889.* (New York: Fordham University Press. 1940. Pp. 53. 50c.) The historical series of Fordham University Studies under the editorship of Father Zema begins with this essay in diplomatic history by Professor Charles C. Tansill. Permission to use the papers of Thomas F. Bayard, United States secretary of state during the five years under discussion, enabled him to offer an authoritative study, in which he traces the steps from the first American contacts with the island. Intervention and plans for annexation by England and France, and to a lesser degree by Russia and Germany, are considered. That political aspects rather than commercial interests guided the United States is made clear. Now that Pearl Harbor is a naval base of first importance and the policy of the United States in regard to the far east is a matter of vital concern, the timeliness of this study is apparent. Copious footnotes and citations of sources attest the scholarly character of Professor Tansill's work. (CHARLES H. METZGER)

TOMPKINS, STUART RAMSAY. *Russia through the Ages.* (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc. 1940. Pp. xxi, 799. $6.00.) In a volume of seven hundred pages Professor Tompkins of the University of Oklahoma presents a survey of the history of Russia from the legendary Cimmerians of the seventh century B. C. to the Russo-Finnish peace of March 12, 1940. Professor Tomkins gives but 118 pages to Russia's story up to the accession of Ivan IV in 1533; from that time to the War of 1914 occupies four hundred pages, and a little under two hundred pages are devoted to Russia since 1914. The volume is well equipped with two maps, a glossary of terms, a detailed chronological table, and a classified bibliography of fifty pages of items in English, German, French and what the author calls "the names of Russian scholars and their works where these have been vital contributions" (p. 725). In the bibliography notice is taken as well of periodical literature. Doubtless the volume appeared too early to cite Professor Curtiss' *Church and State in Russia.* Specialists in Russian history have criticized the author for omissions in this bibliography, as well as for a number of the items included.

Despite the criticisms which may have been offered, Professor Tompkins' work will prove useful to all interested in the history of Russia. The reviewer's chief critical comment would be directed to the lack of treatment of economic and social forces. Politics and diplomacy dominate the volume with a chapter of about fifty pages on cultural life. The author is not an enthusiast for the Soviets and he remarks the difficulty which the communist government puts in the way of the prosecution of impartial scholarship in that land. Professor Tompkins says: "At present the Soviet authorities regard every foreigner, even a scholar, with suspicion. . . . By comparison, Nazi Germany seems liberal in its treatment of foreign scholars" (pp. 731-732).

After reviewing the Soviet policy towards religion in a brief closing chapter on the church in Russia, the author concludes his work with the sentence:

> One is constrained to ask himself whether a people, every act or incident of whose life for centuries had a religious association, can suddenly divest themselves entirely of their traditions and accept the hard, material philosophy of Marxism, which, despite its solicitude for the physical welfare of its adherents, contains no grain of spiritual comfort for the unsuccessful or consolation for the sorrowing (p. 700). (JOHN TRACY ELLIS)

WALZ, P. A., O.P. *Studi Storiografici.* (Roma: Soc. An. Librai Editori Rimicti. 1940. Pp. 72.) In this brochure Dr. Walz, professor of ecclesiastical history at the Angelicum, Rome, publishes for the first time a discourse on Cardinal Cesare Baronio, delivered in November, 1939. Together with this he reprints from *Angelicum* three other papers bearing on historiography: one on Enrico Denifle, one on the Pio-Benedictine norms of ecclesiastical history, and the third on the teaching of ecclesiastical history in the universities of Rome from the seventeenth century to 1932.

In estimating the historical method of Cardinal Baronio, taking modern principles as his standard, the author finds much to be desired. Still, in his untiring diligence the cardinal has had a lasting influence on the study of church history. The paper on Denifle is a brief summary of the man's life and writings. Its value, however, will be recognized in the careful bibliography compiled on the subject. The interest taken by Pius X and Benedict XV in ecclesiastical studies resulted in some norms for church history. The author assembles these norms, and properly indicates how they make room for even the most scientific approach to this subject. This paper is the more interesting in view of the fourth, which deals with the actual teaching of the subject in the athenaea of Rome from the founding of the great ecclesiastical schools to the formation of the curricula in the *Deus Scientiarum Dominus.* For each of these questions the author presents the most recent bibliography. (WILLIAM L. NEWTON)

WATTS, ARTHUR P., D.es L. University of Pennsylvania. *A History of Western Civilization from the Reformation to the Present.* Vol. II. (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc. 1939. Pp. xvii, 1055. $5.00.) With this second volume Professor Watts completes his survey of western civilization. Starting with the Protestant Revolt, the panorama ends in the midst of the present "tumultuous scenes which lead to no certainty" and which offer no warrant for the

application of "the modern fetish word 'progress'," as the author observes in the plaintive 'colophon' with which he closes the book.

As in the first volume, so in this, Professor Watts lays stress on the cultural side of the periods he scans, and displays true scholarly integrity in the care he takes not to identify the church as a teaching body with its individual administrators, as often as censure must be passed. In evaluating the effects of the Protestant Revolt the author exercises an objectivity of judgment worthy of all praise.

But in a work so limited in compass and so extensive in scope, overdrawn generalizations are easily made. Thus to state that "by 1200 the pope was . . . . the supreme lawgiver, judge and administrator over all western Europe" (p. 2); that in collecting its taxes "Rome used an army of spies or informers in all countries to watch the people" (p. 7); and that "the mediaeval ideal was to flee from the world" (p. 71), is to say a good deal more than the truth. On the other hand, one is particularly at a loss to discover the basis of historical fact on which such a broad allegation as that the Jesuit order "had become a great trading firm with branches in all parts of the world, etc.," can stand. In the light of Bernard Duhr's *Jesuitenfabeln* (p. 587 ff.) and James Broderick's *The Economic Morals of the Jesuits* (p. 96 ff.), such a statement certainly needs drastic correction.

As more in the nature of slips, the following may be pointed out. For instance, the Colet who urged reform early in the sixteenth century, was presumably not "Cardinal" Colet (p. 19) but the famous dean of St. Paul's. The Council of Constance, if it is to be called oecumenical, was not the "second" (p. 35), but the fifteenth after Nicaea. Francis Xavier died not "at Canton" (p. 90), but on the island of Sancian near the coast of China. The theory that indulgences may be gained by the living for the dead, was not first developed (p. 16) but only officially applied in the fifteenth century *i.e.*, by Popes Calixtus III and Sixtus IV. The teaching had already been formulated by Bonaventure and Thomas Aquinas two centuries earlier. Yet for all these flaws, Professor Watts' survey remains one of the most readable and well-balanced this reviewer knows. (DEMETRIUS B. ZEMA)

WHITTAKER, EDMUND. *A History of Economic Ideas.* (New York: Longmans, Green & Co. 1940. Pp. xii, 766. $4.00.) This text embodies a novel method of presenting economic history. Instead of the usual chronological treatment, in which the entire system of a thinker is considered as a unit and compared with the complete theories of those immediately preceding or following him, we have here a history of the development of the main issues of economic life and thought. The scope of the treatment is broad, including political, ethical, and social ideas which have influenced men's economic activities. The topics selected comprise most of those found as chapter headings in the average text on economic principles. For this reason one of the main uses of the book would be as required reading in the principles course, although some professors may welcome the opportunity to experiment with a topical treatment of economic history. For the convenience of the average student, references are generally to works available in English.

Controversial historical questions, such as those dealing with mediaeval social principles and practices, are treated with moderation and balance. There is a

genuine effort to present fairly the position of the church, with frequent quotations from St. Thomas Aquinas. In treating these topics the author might have profited from a closer acquaintance with the works of Fanfani and the Carlyles. On the whole, however, he has produced a work of real scholarship, to be recommended to professors and students alike. (JOHN F. CRONIN)

WITTKE, CARL. *We Who Built America.* (New York: Prentice-Hall. 1940. Pp. xviii, 547. $5.00.) Only recently scholars have concerned themselves seriously with the significance of immigration in the development of American civilization. Fortunately a number of first-rate historians, such as the author of this study, have begun to explore the beginnings of our national life from this most important point of view, with the result that a deeper understanding of our history is being made available through works such as the one at hand. *We Who Built America* is an historical rather than a sociological treatment of the subject, which falls into three general divisions: Immigration in the Colonial Period, The Old Immigration, and The New Immigration with a reference to Nativism, the whole study ending with the closing of the gates to the immigrant tide following the end of the war of 1914. Assuming that our American civilization is basically Anglo-Saxon and that our population is, by a vast majority, English, Dr. Wittke omits all reference to English immigrants and has confined himself to non-English immigrant groups; he also excludes the Negro, because of the steadily expanding literature from the pens of both whites and blacks. But he does consider the Jewish, oriental and Mexican groups, so often neglected in works of this sort. The chapter on Nativism is an excellent summary of Anti-Catholicism in America under its various well-known forms, *Know-Nothingism*, and the *A. P. A.* and *K. K. K.* groups.

The book has an index and the bibliography is adequately provided for in the footnotes. In short it should be on the shelf of everyone interested in the history of the church in the United States. (JOSEPH B. CODE)

WOLF, JOHN B. *France 1815 to the Present.* (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc. 1940. Pp. xi, 565. $3.00.) The author of this volume is assistant professor of history in the University of Missouri. It is the latest addition to the Prentice-Hall Books on History edited by Professor Carl Wittke. The work of Professor Wolf represents a sober and balanced account of France since the Bourbon restoration of 1814 with by far the chief emphasis on internal developments rather than France's part on the international scene. There is nothing startlingly new about the presentation save that the author is at pains to do greater justice to Napoleon III than that ruler has received from previous historians, and the reviewer agrees that the scales are more evenly tipped here than in earlier discussions of the 'Man of Sin.'

The bibliography will not satisfy many readers. Professor Wolf might well have given his readers the benefit of his wide study in the sources of nineteenth century French history. As a matter of fact, he has contented himself with a brief list of only forty-five items. This is hardly adequate. No citation of sources is given, with the result that one is left to guess at many of the piquant quotations inserted in the text. For example, the reviewer, while

in no way denying the truth of some of the judgments on the French clergy, would have been gratified by a reference to the sources for such remarks as those to be found on pages 8, 31, 39, 41, 58-59, 61, 67-68. A whole chain of events bearing on ecclesiastical problems in Russia and France should have been explained if Professor Wolf wished to escape confusion in his reader's mind over his statement that Leo XIII did all he could to bring about the Franco-Russian alliance of 1894 (p. 476). Professor Langer treats that point rather fully in his excellent monograph *The Franco-Prussian Alliance*, but one would not gather quite the same impression from that account as one would from Wolf's terse sentence.

A few slips were noted. The Assumption Fathers are not monks (p. 415); nor did the Falloux laws win the Church fully to Napoleon III (p. 228); Talleyrand did not enter the inner council at the Congress of Vienna "just when" Bonaparte's escape from Elba became known (p. 33); he had by that time been sitting with the representatives of the allied Powers for some weeks. One might ask why the "rights" of Pius IX in 1847 should be designated by the quotation marks (p. 160). Printers' errors were noted in "assulting" for "assaulting" (p. 139); "fused" for "refused" (p. 239); "thee" for "three" (p. 478), and "predominence" for "predominance" (p. 516).

While the volume in general is a sound piece of work, its style, particularly in the earlier chapters, is heavy and dull. It picks up as the story enfolds, and while the reader will by no means find here all the answers to the shock France gave the world in June, 1940, yet Professor Wolf has provided suitable background for some of those answers. (JOHN TRACY ELLIS)

PERIODICAL LITERATURE

MISCELLANEOUS

The Law and Scientific Method. C. Reinold Noyes (*Political Science Quarterly*, Dec.).

Toward a Philosophy of History. Demetrius B. Zema, S.J. (*Historical Bulletin*, Nov.).

Arnold J. Toynbee's Philosophy of History [Review article]. Pitirim A. Sorokin (*Journal of Modern History*, Sept.).

The Unity of the Human Race. E. L. Allen (*Hibbert Journal*, July).

Crisis, History of the Image of Man [Jacob Burckhardt's approach to history]. Albert Salomon (*Review of Politics*, Oct.).

Christianity and Humanism. E. I. Watkin (*Dublin Review*, Oct.).

Catholics and Democracy. Austin J. App (*Magnificat*, Sept.).

The Sovereignty of the People in Medieval and Modern Theory. John M. Lenhart, O.F.M. Cap. (*Social Justice Review*, Nov. and Dec.).

La rebelión contra el tirano en Santo Tomás de Aquino y en los autores españoles Francisco de Vitoria, Francisco Suáres y Juan de Mariana. C. J. Romero (*Revista del Colegio Mayor de Ntra. Sra. del Rosario*, Oct.).

History and the Hierarchy. William J. McGarry, S.J. (*Theological Studies*, Sept.).

Pre-Augustinian Christian Political Thought. Wilfrid Parsons (*ibid.*, Dec.).

St. Pacianus on the Efficacy of Episcopal Absolution. Clarence McAuliffe (*ibid.*).

St. Ambrose and St. Leo the Great. Two Centenaries. Philip Hughes (*Tablet*, Dec. 7).

History of Devotion to the Sacred Heart. I: The Sacred Heart in the Holy Scriptures and in Early Christian Writings. M. Quinlan, S.J. (*Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, Nov.).

Francis de Vitoria (1480-1546). Jerome O'Rorke, O.P. (*Australasian Catholic Record*, Oct.).

The "Puritanism" of Catholic Centuries. F. P. Kenkel (*Social Justice Review*, Dec.).

The Nazi Koran, Essence of Spenglerism. Arnold Lunn (*Tablet*, Oct. 12, 19, 26).

Education et bibliothèques. Arthur Maheux (*Canada français*, Sept.).

The International Action of the Papacy, An Historical Survey. Philip Hughes (*Tablet*, Nov. 2-23).

Il Clero della basilica romana di S. Clemente. Livarius Oliger, O.F.M. *Antonianum*, Oct.).

The Orient and the Graeco-Roman World before Islam. J. J. Saunders (*History*, Sept.).

The Pilgrim's Progress of the Byzantine Emperor [*Cebetis Tabula*]. Glanville Downey (*Church History*, Sept.).

Elementary and Secondary Education in the Middle Agas. Lynn Thorndike (*Speculum*, Oct.).

Die Mendikantenarmut im Dominikanerorden im 14. Jahrhundert. Nach den Schriften von Johannes von Dambach, O.P., und Johannes Dominici, O.P. G. M. Löhr, (*Divus Thomas*, Freiburg i.d.Schweiz, June).

Three Hansa Towns and Archives—Bruges, Lübeck, Tallinn [A paper read at the meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association, Dec. 29, 1938)]. David K. Bjork (*Pacific Historical Review*, Sept.).

Grünewald's Christianity [with four plates]. Stephen S. Kayser (*Review of Religions*, Nov.).

Jesuit Influence in Baroque Art. C. P. Curran (*Studies*, Sept.).

Saint Ignatius as a Social Worker. Joseph H. Fichter (*Commonweal*, Sept. 27).

The General of the Suppressed Jesuits [Father Lorenzo Ricci]. Peter M. Dunne, S.J. (*Historical Bulletin*, Nov.).

The Jesuits: 1540-1940. Anon. (*Tablet*, Sept. 14 and 21).

Russian (Greek Orthodox) Missionaries in China, 1689-1917: Their Cultural Political and Economic Role. Albert Parry (*Pacific Historical Review*, Dec.).

EUROPEAN

The Rise and Fall of Catholic Sweden. Andrew Beck, A.A. (*Studies*, Sept.).

The Tercentenary of Jean Racine. Patrick Browne (*ibid.*).

The Religious Origins of European Disunity. Christopher Dawson (*Dublin Review*, Oct.).

The Fall of France. Barbara Ward (*ibid.*).

Influences of Czech Culture in Poland in the Middle Ages. Stanislaw Kolbuszewski (*Slavonic Year-Book*, 1939-1940).

Constitutional Changes in Yugoslavia. Dinko Tomašić (*Political Science Quarterly*, Dec.).

Highlights of the Hungarian Reformation. William Toth (*Church History*, June).

The Orthodox Church in Central Europe. Prince Nicholas Massalsky (*Tablet*, Oct. 5 and 12).

Frederick the Great and Hitler. H. E. G. Rope (*Month*, Nov.).

The Social Democrats and the Unification of Germany, 1863-71. Sinclair W. Armstrong (*Journal of Modern History*, Dec.).

Corporative Organization of the Third Reich. Taylor Cole (*Review of Politics*, Oct.).

The Plight of Rumania. Leonid I. Strakhovsky (*Catholic World*, Nov.).

St. Ignatius of Loyola: the Embodiment of the Spanish Spirit and Character. José Maria Penián (*Irish Monthly*, Sept.).

Portugal and the Society of Jesus. Edward H. Hagemann, S.J. (*Historical Bulletin*, Nov.).

The Great Social Experiment in Turin [Don Cottolengo's Casa della Divina Providenza]. Mina J. Moore (*Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, Oct.).

BRITISH EMPIRE

The Central Financial System of Christ Church, Canterbury, 1186-1512. R. A. L. Smith (*English Historical Review*, July).

The Campaign of 1375 and the Good Parliament. C. C. Bayley (*ibid.*).

The Edwardian Arrears in Augmentations Payments and the Problem of the Ex-Religious. A. G. Dickens (*ibid.*).

Peter of Aubusson. F. R. Lewis (*ibid.*).

John Oldcastle in Hiding, August-October 1417. H. G. Richardson (*ibid.*).

Early Essex Clergy [continuation of a list of mediaeval clergymen]. P. L. Reaney (*Essex Review*, Oct.).

A Commentary on the *Prophetia Merlini*, Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*, Book VII [Continuation]. Jacob Hammer (*Speculum*, Oct.).

Nicholas Bozon. Sister M. Amelia, O.P. (*ibid.*).

Attestation of Charters in the Reign of John. J. C. Russell (*ibid.*).

An Elizabethan Defender of the Monasteries [a discussion of Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 5813, ff. 5-29]. A. G. Dickens (*Church Quarterly Review*, July).

The Reformation at Home and Abroad. H. Maynard Smith (*ibid.*).

Wiseman's Return to England in 1840. Denis Gwynn (*Clergy Review*, Sept.).

William Beckford and the Faith. H. E. G. Rope (*Month*, Sept.).
The Face of English Politics. Robert Speaight (*Review of Politics*, Oct.)
The Hymn of St. Secundinus in honour of St. Patrick. Eoin MacNeill (*Irish Historical Studies*, Sept.).
The Annals attributed to Tigernach. Paul Walsh (*ibid.*).
Irish Monks and the Cluniac Reform. Aubrey Gwynn, S.J. (*Studies*, Sept.).
The Parish of Maynooth, 1614-1840. Michael T. MacSweeney (*Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, Nov.).
Irish Absenteeism in the Eighteen-seventies. Norman D. Palmer (*Journal of Modern History*, Sept.).
England and Ireland. Arnold Lunn (*Tablet*, Sept. 14).

AMERICAN

Accomplishments and Future Program of the Pennsylvania Historical Survey. Karl Goedecke (*Pennsylvania History*, Oct.).
Awakening an Interest in Social History. John S. Cartwright (*ibid.*).
A Calendar of La Salle's Travels, 1643-1683. Jean Delanglez (*Mid-America*, Oct.).
New Light on the History of the Reconquest of New Mexico. J. Manuel Espinosa (*ibid.*).
Maryland before the Revolution. Charles A. Barker (*American Historical Review*, Oct.).
Baltimore as Seen by Moreau de Saint-Méry in 1794. Tr. and ed. by Fillmore Norfleet (*Maryland Historical Magazine*, Sept.).
Peter Irving's Journals, Parts III–V. Ed. by Wyllis E. Wright (*Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, Oct., Nov., Dec.).
Thoreau and the Irish. Frank Buckley (*New England Quarterly*, Sept.).
Irish Catholic Colonies and Colonization Projects in the United States, 1795-1860. Part II. Sister Mary Gilbert Kelly, O.P. (*Studies*, Sept.).
The Fenian Brotherhood. Schuyler Dean Hoslett (*Americana*, XXXIV, 1940, 4).
The Frontier Intrigues of Citizen Genêt. William F. Keller (*ibid.*).
The Frontier and Frontiersman of Turner's Essays. George Wilson Pierson (*Pennsylvania Magazine*, Oct.).
One Hundred Years in Indiana [of the Sisters of Providence of Saint-Mary-of-the-Woods]. Sister Eugenia, S.P. (*Catholic World*, Nov.).
The Critical Years of the Catholic Church in the United States. Helen Auld. *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society* (Vol. L, nos. 1-4).
Bishop Martin Marty, O.S.B.—1834-1896. I. Betschart, O.S.B., tr. by J. Eisenbarth, O.S.F.S. (*ibid.*).
The Development of the Separation of Church and State in the United States. J. J. Graham (*ibid.*).
Peace Organization during the Civil War. Elizabeth A. Mohr (*Social Studies*, Dec.).
Catholic Press and the Civil War. Benjamin Blied (*Historical Bulletin*, Nov.).
Catholic Charity in the Army, 1861-1865 [Concluded]. Benjamin Blied (*Social Justice Review*, Oct.).
'Them's They': The Story of Monches, Wisconsin. Lincoln F. Whelan (*Wisconsin Magazine of History*, Sept.).
Scandinavian Moravians in Wisconsin. Joseph Schafer (*ibid.*).
Pio Nono High School, St. Francis, Wisconsin [The Oldest Catholic High School for Boys in the Northwest]. Warren C. Abrahamson (*Salesianum*, Oct.).
'Ghost' Churches [in the Archdiocese of Milwaukee]. Peter Leo Johnson (*ibid.*).
Wisconsin Bishops Protest the Bennet Law [March 12, 1890]. Anon. (*Social Justice Review*, Dec.).
The Iowa Germans in the Election of 1860. Charles W. Emery (*Annals of Iowa*, Oct.).

Chaplains of the House of Refuge, St. Louis, Mo., 1880-1920. Leo Kalmer, O.F.M. (*Annals of the Franciscan Province of the Sacred Heart*, Dec.).

Some Considerations on the Frontier Concept of Frederick Jackson Turner. Murray Kane (*Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Dec.).

Mary Anderson, 1859-1940. Charlotte M. Meagher (*Magnificat*, Sept., Oct., Nov.).

Une ursuline d' origine allemande aux Trois-Rivières. E. Fabre-Surveyer (*Canada français*, Oct.).

La bibliothèque du séminaire de Québec et son catalogue de 1782. Antonio Drolet (*ibid.*, Nov.).

Pierre Jean De Smet: Apostle of the Rockies. Julia Heyl Colquitt (*Light*, Oct.).

Franciscan Missions of New Mexico, 1740-1760. Henry W. Kelly (*New Mexico Historical Review*, Oct.).

Troublous Times in New Mexico, 1659-1670 (Continued). France V. Scholes (*ibid.*).

Introduction to Latin America. James A. Magner (*Shield*, Dec.).

Disputed Questions on the Beginnings of Teaching in the Philippines. Evergisto Bazaco, O.P. (*Unitas*, Oct. and Nov.).

El Libertador y el totalitarismo. La constitutión boliviana de 1826. L. Uprimny (*Revista del Colegio Mayor de Ntra. Sra. del Rosario*, Oct.).

BOOKS RECEIVED

(Mention here does not preclude extended notice in the REVIEW).

Albright, William Foxwell, *From the Stone Age to Christianity* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1940. Pp. xi, 363. $2.50).

Alma, Sister Mary, C.I.M., *The Reverend Louis Florent Gillet. His Life, Letters and Conferences; Founder of the Sisters Servants of the Immaculate Heart of Mary* (Philadelphia: Dolphin Press. 1940. Pp. xiv, 278).

American Antiquarian Society, *Proceedings*, Vol. 49. New Series. Part 2 (Worcester: Published by the Society. 1940. Pp. 207-382, xxvi).

Bailey, Jessie Bromilow, *Diego De Vargas and the Reconquest of New Mexico, 1692-1704* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1940. Pp. 290).

Baker, Archibald G., *A Short History of Christianity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1940. Pp. vii, 279. $2.00).

Barker, Charles Albro, *The Background of the Revolution in Maryland* (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1940. Pp. x, 419. $3.50).

Chandler, Albert R., *The Clash of Political Ideals* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. 1940. Pp. xvii, 273. $2.00).

Chinard, Gilbert, *George Washington As the French Knew Him* (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1940. Pp. xviii, 161. $2.50).

Collins, Joseph B., S.S., *Christian Mysticism in the Elizabethan Age* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1940. Pp. xiv, 251. $3.25).

Crum, Mason, *Gullah: Negro Life in the Carolina Sea* (Durham: Duke University Press. 1940. Pp. xv, 351. $3.50).

Dempsey, Martin, *John Baptist de la Salle. His Life and His Institute* (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co. 1940. Pp. xiv, 255. $3.00).

Die Einheit der Ost- und Westkirche: Zur 500 Wiederkehr des Unionskonzils von Florenz 1439-1539. Heft 6-12, Juni-Dez. 1939. *Zeitschrift für Kirchenkunde u. Religionswissenschaft.* hrsg. von Friedrich Heiler. München: Verlag Ernst Reinhardt).

Dunne, Peter Masten, S.J., *Pioneer Black Robes on the West Coast* (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1940. Pp. xiii, 386. $3.00).

Dupré, Huntley, *Lazare Carnot: Republican Patriot* (Oxford, Ohio: Mississippi Valley Press. 1940. Pp. 343. $4.50).

Eby, Frederick and Charles Flinn Arrowood. *The History and Philosophy of Education. Ancient and Medieval* (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc. 1940. Pp. xiii, 966. $3.75). The present volume is a survey of the method and content of education from the most primitive peoples through the Renaissance. The authors are professors in the University of Texas. An item of real value in the book is the incorporation of generous quotations from the sources with constant footnote reference to the secondary works as well.

Efron, Andrew, *The Sacred Tree Script. The Esoteric Foundation of Plato's Wisdom* (New Haven: Tuttle, Morehouse & Taylor Co. 1941. Pp. xxiv, 372).

Fichter, Joseph, *Man of Spain: A Biography of Francis Suarez* (New York: Macmillan Co. 1940. Pp. 349. $2.50).

Greene, Alice Bouchard, *The Philosophy of Silence* (New York: Richard R. Smith. 1940. xi, 254. $2.50).

Gwynn, Denis, *The Vatican and War in Europe* (Dublin: Browne and Nolan. 1940. Pp. xxv, 217. 7/6).

Hansen, Marcus Lee, *The Immigrant in American History* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1940. Pp. 230. $2.50).

Harbison, E. Harris, *Rival Ambassadors at the Court of Queen Mary* (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1940. Pp. xii, 380. $4.00).

Hockett, Homer Carey, *Political and Social Growth of the American People 1492-1865*, 3rd Ed. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1940. Pp. xxi. 861. $3.25).

Hunt, Edmund, *Johannis Dominici Lucula Noctis* (Notre Dame: Publications in Mediaeval Studies. University of Notre Dame. 1940. Pp. xxx, 432). A new and carefully prepared edition, with a critical introduction, of this lengthy text. It is based on the original manuscript, now at the University of Chicago, not used in the previous edition. A valuable contribution to the growing series of the Notre Dame Publications in Mediaeval Studies. The *Lucula Noctis*, written in 1405 by Joannes Dominici, O.P., outlines the arguments of the humanists in favor of a study of the classics as an aid to religion and refutes them at great length.

Johnson, Henry, *Teaching of History* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1940. Pp. xiii, 467. $3.00), This is a revised edition of Professor Johnson's work published a quarter of a century ago. The discussion of history teaching in the schools of both Europe and America has been co-ordinated and brought down to date. The bibliographies likewise have been enlarged with recent literature on the subject.

Jones, S. Shepherd and Denys P. Myers (Eds.), *Documents on American Foreign Relations* (Boston: World Peace Foundation. 1940. Pp. xxx, 875. $3.75).

Knollenberg, Bernhard, *Washington and the Revolution. A Reappraisal* (New York: Macmillan Co. 1940. Pp. xvi, 269. $3.00).

Massachusetts Historical Society. *Proceedings*. October, 1932 – May, 1936. Vol. LXV (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society. 1940. Pp. xv, 619).

McInnis, Edgar, *The War: First Year* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1940. Pp. xii, 312. $1.50). This volume from a member of the department of history in the University of Toronto is an effort to give a logical and meaningful treatment to the bewildering events which have transpired between September, 1939 and the fall of 1940. Raymond Gram Swing writes the Introduction. A documentary appendix includes reprints of the Locarno Pact of 1925 and other materials down to the Franco-Italian armistice terms of June 24, 1940. The chronological method is followed in the context. The volume has a brief list of suggested readings and an index.

Mendell, Elizabeth Lawrence, *Romanesque Sculpture in Saintonge*. (Illustrated) (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1940. Pp. xvii, 213. $7.00).

Nix, James T., *A Surgeon Reflects* (University: Louisiana State University Press. 1940. Pp. xiv, 115. $1.50).

Perkins, Clarence, and Clarence H. Matterson, Reginald I. Lovell, *The Development of European Civilization* (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc. 1940. Pp. xxiii, 1174, xviii. $4.50). The increasing popularity of the survey course in European civilization is reflected in the number of textbooks appearing. This addition to the Prentice-Hall Books on History, edited by Professor Carl Wittke, is a co-operative work by three men in three different institutions: Perkins of the University of North Dakota, Matterson of Iowa State College and Lovell of Williamette University.

Reese, M. M., *The Tudors and Stuarts* (New York: Longmans, Green & Co. 1940. Pp. 440. $2.00).

Rippy, J. Fred, *Historical Evolution of Hispanic America* (New York: F. S. Crofts & Co. 1940. Pp. xvii, 582. $3.75). This is a second edition of Professor Rippy's well-known volume first published in 1932. The story has been brought down to date, additional data in social history given, and the reading lists "thoroughly revised."

Roberts, Frank H. H. Jr., *Archeological Remains in the Whitewater District Eastern Arizona.* Part II. *Artifacts and Burials.* With Appendix: *Skeletal Remains from the Whitewater District, Eastern Arizona* by T. D. Stewart. (Washington: United States Government Printing Office. 1940. Pp. xi, 170. 50c.) This constitutes Bulletin 126 from the Bureau of American Ethnology of the Smithsonian Institution.

Ryan, John K., *Modern War and Basic Ethics* (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co. 1940. Pp. xi, 142. $1.75).

Satterfield, M. H., and Hugh W. Urban, *Municipal Government and Administration in Mississippi* (Jackson, Miss.: Mississippi State Planning Commission. 1940. Pp. 134). This brochure is Municipal Studies No. 1 done under the auspices of the Tennessee Valley Authority.

Schlesinger, Arthur Meier, *Political and Social Growth of the American People, 1865-1940,* 3rd ed. (New York: Macmillan Co. 1941. Pp. xxi, 783 pp. $3.25).

Schlipp, Paul Arthur (Ed.), *The Philosophy of George Santayana* (Evanston and Chicago: Northwestern University. 1940. Pp. xvi, 698. $4.00).

Sforza, Count Carlo, *Fifty Years of War and Diplomacy in the Balkans* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1940. Pp. x, 195. $2.75).

Smith, Robert Sidney, *The Spanish Guild Merchant: A History of the Consulado, 1250-1700* (Durham: Duke University Press. 1940. Pp. xii, 167. 2.50).

Spurlin, Paul M., *Montesquieu in America 1760-1801* (University: Louisiana State University Press. 1940. Pp. xi, 302. $3.00).

Stafford, Helen G., *James VI. of Scotland and the Throne of England* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Co. 1940. Pp. ix, 336. $3.75).

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